

FIFTY YEARS *of* AMERICAN MARXISM

1891-1941

*Commemorating the
Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Founding of the
Weekly People*

Published by the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA
1941

Price 3 Cents

NEW YORK

THE MILLERS' AND MILLRIGHTS' UNION
has now decided to demand eight hours
and \$2.00 a day.



(Continued on third page.)

The Secretary read the following letter from P. J. McGuire, Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners:

As we go to press we learn that several labor organizations of Brooklyn, among which Cigarmakers' Union No. 143, Carpenters' Union No. 201 and the S. L. F. Section of Newtown have decided to at-

This caution about the dangers of enforcing a general holiday may be explained by the evident desire of the German government to provoke a conflict, and it is not surprising that

and thereby find an execution
 performed on second input.

The Role of the Party Press

By JOHN TIMM



THE sword of the Socialist Labor Party is its press. For fifty years it has carved into shape "a potent movement destined, certain to remove from the race the all-around disgracing existence of slavery." For fifty years it has struck at error within and without the ranks of the workers "with ever more unerring accuracy, with ever increasing force, and with ever greater relentlessness." For fifty years it has been beating down the pretenses of capitalism and pointing to the goal of forward-looking humanity, the Socialist Republic of Labor.

The People, both *Daily* and *Weekly*, has a record unmatched by past or contemporary newspapers. Many capitalist papers are older and as consistent in upholding the interests of a class. Many "labor" papers have larger circulations and are as consistent in befuddling the workers as *The People* is in setting them right. But no other paper has wielded such an influence, has played such a part in working class development, has so valiantly upheld principle as this paper that answered Marx's plea for "an organ that should be beyond taint of corruption, invulnerable against attacks and inspired by men who feel it their mission to teach the truth that they have acquired by hard toil and bitter sufferings."

On the masthead of the *New York Times* there appears the slogan, "All The News That's Fit to Print." On the masthead of the *Weekly People* there appear two slogans, the first the coinage of Karl Marx, the second that of Daniel De Leon. The

Weekly People makes no pretense to print "all the news." A careful reading of the *New York Times*, an examination of its history, an analysis of its slogan will convince the reader that it, too, makes no such pretense.

"All The News That's Fit To Print," as activated by that greatest of all capitalist newspapers, means the publishing of that portion of the news that is considered "decent," that keeps its capitalist readers informed of national and international, political and economic trends likely to affect their pocket-books, and that does not create too great a disillusionment with capitalism when read by workers. Conversely, the slogan of the *Times* means the censoring, or "doctoring," of that portion of the news that gives the yellow capitalist press its "sales appeal," that divulges the war and industrial-feudal plans of the policy-makers of capitalism, and that furnishes the working class with too many reasons why capitalism must be destroyed.

Unlike capitalism's leading newspaper, the organ of Socialism, the *Weekly People*, is activated by principles that force it to publish social truths even when these are considered "harmful" by the apologists of capitalism, that force it to keep the workers informed of the trends that threaten their lives, their liberty, their hopes for the future, and that force it to publicize the reasons why Karl Marx spoke for progress when he proclaimed that "The workers ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system!'"

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The People was not the first journalistic attempt in the United States to organize the workers for social betterment. In his study, "Daniel De Leon—Pioneer Socialist Editor," Arnold Petersen has traced the history of the American labor press from the founding of *The Mechanics Free Press*, prior to 1829, to that of *The People* in 1891. The years between saw many papers, like the *Free Enquirer* in 1830 (when Karl Marx was a boy of 12), asserting that "what distinguishes the present from every other struggle in which the human race has been engaged, is, that the present is, evidently, openly and acknowledgedly, a war of class, and that this war is universal." (Frances Wright.)

But none of these, Daniel De Leon showed in 1900, could crystallize into the powerfully effective weapon that *The People* did. "They were premature endeavors; unsustained aspirations, that evaporated into sighs of impotence. What was desirable was out of sight ahead of what was possible. Not so now. The material possibilities of the race have now moved forward, placing what is possible abreast of what is desirable. In our generation, for the first time in the history of the race, KNOWLEDGE and FEELING support each other."

The People had its roots in Marxian science from its very founding. Its insistence upon soundness has enabled it to weather social storms that have sunk every "competitor" for the title of THE organ of Socialism. Pedantry had no part in this insistence. The knowledge that truth unites and error scatters was sufficient to make science the guiding star to the Social Revolution.

In 1897, De Leon wrote the obituary of a "labor" paper that may well serve as the type-form obituary for the several thousand "labor" papers that have died since. For the light that it casts upon the principles adopted by the organ of the Socialist Labor Party, for the light that it casts upon the lack of principles gloried in by pretended Socialist papers, its salient points are here reproduced:

"'Labor' [the generic name of the fraud] was constructed upon three principles that were carefully chosen so as to be the exact opposite of corresponding principles on which *The People* is built.

"*The People* maintains that, to teach Socialism, scientific economics and sociology have to be taught; undeterred by the giddy and pampered taste of the public, it undertook the task. 'Labor' said 'Nay.' It proceeded on this head from the same principle that conceited ignorance always does; it sneered at science; sneered at learning; and sought to teach Socialism by shouting 'Hurrah for Socialism!' 'Three

Cheers for Socialism!' etc., etc. The unthinking, being more numerous than the thoughtful, 'Labor' spread its net for their support, confident of a large haul—but the fry for which it fished slipped off.

"*The People* maintains that the Socialist Revolution needs men who are in intelligent opposition to the ruling system; it aimed from the start at organizing this intelligent opposition, and, consequently, had no use for and incurred the welcome hatred of the soreheads. 'Labor' did not know the difference between intelligent opposition and soreheads. The noise of soreheads deceived it; it thought they were legion, and did not know that soreheadism is all froth and no substance. It deliberately gave them asylum, thinking to gain thereby ample support, and to profit by 'the mistakes' of *The People*. Every intellectual or moral crook who ran up against the solid organization of the S.L.P., and was lashed for his crookedness, or believed himself or herself unappreciated, ran to and was received with open arms by the columns of 'Labor.' The columns of 'Labor' rang with anathema against the Party. Every pretentious ignoramus, whose windbag we punctured, shouted 'Boss!'; every liar, whom we convicted, shouted 'Czar!'; every schemer, on whose trail we camped, yelled 'Pope!' Thus 'Labor' went on, swimmingly, as it thought, until the hard fact struck it amidships that the very quality that makes the sorehead disqualifies him for effective work.

"*The People* maintains that labor 'celebrities,' who are wrong, are more dangerous than capitalist adversaries; consequently, it sails right into such 'celebrities,' undeterred by the following they may have. 'All wrong,' said 'Labor,' and illustrated its action by throwing up its hat with the unthinking at John Burns, for instance, and having nothing but praise for this misleading lightweight, who said, 'I am a Socialist, but will go with anyone who will give me something.' The subscribers who, attracted by this course, were expected to flock to 'Labor,' never flocked. A few lightweights 'approved' it or 'condemned' *The People*, and there 'Labor's' profits ended.

"The three cardinal principles in question and their opposites were submitted to an ample test. Net results—*The People* flourishes; 'Labor' sinks."

The Skyrocketing Reformist Press.

The People never reached the 5,000,000 circulation claimed by the *Appeal to Reason*, the 1,000,000 claimed by the *New York Call*, the 500,000 claimed by the *Chicago World*. But, because *The People* was founded on science, on the development

Workers of all countries unite!
You have nothing to lose but
your chains. You have a world
to gain!

DAILY PEOPLE



WEATHER—FAIR

VOL. 6 No. 62

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1905.

ONE CENT

In Order: The First and New Jersey
Brokers, THE CENT.

STRIKES IN RUSSIA

REPORT FROM LIBAU SHOWS RE-
FECT OF MOBILIZATION.

work of Drafting Peace Treaty Begun at
Portsmouth—Japanese Influence in
Zone Recognized—The "Open Door"
For Manchuria.

Libau, Russia, Aug. 30—A general
strike has been brought about here by
the "Open Door" policy.

naval officers contend that Japan showed
greater wisdom in making concessions to
Russia than if she had demanded the
conference and brought on a renewal of
hostilities.

TRAIN AND TROLLEY WRECK.
Washington, Aug. 30.—The rear coach
on a South Carolina and Georgia Rail-
road train turned over at Reynolds street
crossing at Augusta, Ga., today.

F. J. Murphy, police health officer of
Augusta, was killed. The following were
injured.

(Continued from page 1)

ORGANIZE YOUR FORCES! THROW OFF YOUR SHACKLES! FREE YOURSELVES FROM WAGE BONDAGE!

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Extracts from Speeches Delivered at the Chicago Convention

ALBANY DISASTER ARRESTS.

Albany, Aug. 30.—Governor Van Dyke
this afternoon ordered the arrest of
John Dyer, Jr., contractor, and Clark
L. Daggett, his superintendent assistant
on charges of manslaughter and criminal
negligence arising from their alleged res-
ponsibility in connection with the col-
lapse on Aug. 8 of the central portion
of the department store building of the
John G. Myers Company, which resulted
in the death of thirteen and the injury
of upwards of forty others.

Governor Van Dyke today heard
the report of the mayor's special expert
commission on the causes of the collapse.

TUNNEL STRIKERS

DISGUSTED WITH TREATMENT OF
MURPHY'S CONTRACTING CO.

Brother of Tammany Leader Denounced
for Meanness Toward Employees—
Men on Miniature Railway in F. R.
R. Tube Want Better Conditions.

The number of striking workers on
the miniature railroad system which

Facsimile of "Daily People"

The first daily Socialist newspaper in the English language. Edited by Daniel De Leon from its founding on July 1, 1900, until its suspension on February 22, 1914. Its tradition as an arsenal of facts and logic in the service of the American working class is carried on by the *Weekly People*.

of character, and on the exposure of all elements harmful to the interests of the working class, it flourishes in this day of capitalist decay as the one organ in the English language printed in the United States that calls, uncompromisingly, for the "Abolition of the wage system."

The *Appeal to Reason*, the *New York Call*, the *Chicago World*, the *Milwaukee Leader* and the numerous other organs of the so-called Socialist party are dead, and, being dead, are more useful to the working class than they ever were while alive. Their death, and the wasted effort of their lives, prove that a Socialist paper (granting, for the moment, their editors' claim to the title) cannot, as De Leon has said, proceed upon the policy of first "roping in" readers with all sorts of claptrap, and then, having caught the readers, turn them into Socialists.

When is the period for Socialist articles when new readers are constantly nibbling? Shall Socialist articles be put off until the "nibblers" are hooked? De Leon answered these questions, which constantly plagued those who believed that Socialism could be taught gradually, by pointing out that fresh nibblers can always be seen at the heels of the early comers.

The time to publish Socialist articles, De Leon determined when he became editor of *The People* in 1892, a little more than a year after the paper's founding on April 5, 1891, is NOW. Strange as it seems, this idea was new to American Socialism. Its emergence as a paper, under the original editorship of Lucien Sanial, was in an endeavor "to make of it a paper that would reach and be attractive to all members of the family"—a more popular presentation of its predecessor, the *Workmen's Advocate*, founded in 1887. The theory on which that plan was based, De Leon later wrote, was false, and in

April 1892, one year after its founding, *The People* was made a strictly and exclusively Socialist and new trade unionist organ for agitation and education.

The assertion that *The People*, *Weekly* and *Daily*, proved to be the only paper in the United States to publish *Socialist* articles is no idle boast. It is substantiated by the fact that only the movement it served developed *Socialists*, intelligent opponents of capitalism who have unfailingly shown the working class the road to peace, freedom and plenty.

These men and women readers of *The People* were never trapped by the reform bait of capitalism. They knew that, as workers, they were exploited at the point of production. They knew that in society there prevails a class struggle that cannot be compromised, that separates the working class from the capitalist class by the interests of the first being diametrically opposed to those of the second. They knew that the horrors of capitalism can be ended and the security of Socialism attained only by the correct organization of their class. They knew, and *know*, these things because, for fifty years, they have been nurtured on Marxian science.

The fount of Marxian science was made available to the readers of *The People*. Works, that in many cases had never been available in the English language, were presented in translations by De Leon and others. The "Eighteenth Brumaire," "The Gotha Program," the basic Marxian texts on historical criticism and Socialist tactics. "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," "The Revolutionary Act," the brilliant analyses by Frederick Engels. "Value, Price and Profit," Marx's own condensation of his economic theories. "The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50," Marx's first attempt to apply the materialist conception of history to "a

THE MONTHLY PEOPLE

VOL. I. No. 9.

NEW YORK, JUNE, 1903

TEN CENTS A YEAR


PUBLISHED MONTHLY
BY THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
AT
2-4 NEW READE STREET,
NEW YORK.

IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO.
Are the figures, published in the current number of the *Locomotive*, *People's Magazine*, on "The Progress of American Railways" intentionally given

THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE.

Translated from Revolutionary Russia, official organ of the Socialist Revolutionists of Russia.

After some apparently enforced silence the legal press began to publish different details about the upward of, even in Russia—the kind of massacre—bestialities committed upon the Jewish population in Kishineff and, as usual, mostly


stance, when the Jewish butchers went to the scene of the massacre they were stopped and dispersed. One of our correspondents writes: "An organized robbery and massacre of Jews took place in the presence, or rather under the cover of the police and military." Another correspondent reports: "The soldiers are waiting here and there, changing their stations, the police in full force. And side by side lawless ones, robbers and massacre men, people are being attacked with

and it is impossible to ascertain the number of wounded. Whenever a crime has been committed the question that arises first of all in the search for the guilty ones is, in whose interest was it committed? Were the authorities even more careful in elaborating the traces of their participation in the crime, were the Jewish revolutionists not threatened in the past by the political police (gendarmes) it would be sufficient to get acquainted with the conduct of the authorities in Kieff and Odessa to under-

and national hatred. Don't hasten to cover yourself with the figleaf of belated official hypocrisy. Don't hasten to get rid of the responsibility for your crimes by making scapegoats out of the very first ignorant and enraged individuals whom your police has suddenly picked out of the mob after long commiseration and semi-encouragement. You will feel no one, no matter how severe may be the punishment meted out to him in order to keep up the external appearance of non-participation

breaks can be foreseen, the question is simple enough.

In the year 1892 there was in the city of Kieff a great number of unemployed. They began to be restless. A deep ferment among them could grow into a simultaneous outbreak. "Rumors were afloat," to quote the correspondence in the Revolutionary Russia No. 41 "that the unemployed are preparing themselves for an anti Jewish riot. The revolutionary organizations decided to interfere with it. A whole series of pre-


Owing to the low price at which this paper is published, we cannot undertake to change any addresses. If you change your residence and wish to continue the paper you will have to subscribe again.

PANIC WAGES VS. PROSPERITY WAGES.

In attempting to combat the Socialist truth that the interests of capitalists and workers are antagonistic and irreconcilable, the capitalists have resort to the

Facsimile of "Monthly People"

Published for slightly more than one year in an endeavor to reach readers to whom the *Daily* and *Weekly People* were not readily available. Contained outstanding articles of agitational and educational value.

segment of contemporary history." "Crises in European History," the successful portrayal of the events that have shaped our time. These, and many, many more classics of Socialist thought, served as the tools that developed the true Socialists of the land.

The People, however, has never been the medium through which its readers obtain mere abstract understanding. Since De Leon's editorship it has been the analyst of the events that impinged upon the consciousness of the American working class. In every issue, the important news of the day was, and is, weighed. Wars and the alarms of war; reforms and the lies of reformers; labor strife and the plans of labor fakers; exploitation and the industrial feudal plans of the exploiters; frauds and the postures of so-called Socialists and Communists. Issues that affect the working class were, and are, brought into the light of day for that class to see.

De Leon's interpretation of world events in the period 1892-1914 constitutes the most realistic view of the causes of the present turmoil in society. A small fraction of his day-by-day observations is available in book and pamphlet form. A great treasure, belonging to the working class, lies in the bound volumes of the *Daily* and *Weekly People*.

It is safe to say that the unique ability of De Leon has never been equalled. By means of editorials and addresses that were brought to the larger audience of *The People*, he created a modern literature of Socialism that guides present-day Socialists.

"What Means This Strike?", the classic presentation of the class struggle principle, the primer in Marxian economics that has grounded thousands in the methods of capitalism. "Reform or Revolution," the presentation of unanswerable arguments why the workers must destroy capitalism. "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," the guide-book to a

better order of society through tactics and forms of organization that fit the American scene. "The Socialist Reconstruction of Society," the fruition of Marxism, the proof that the cry of Marx that the wage system must be abolished can be achieved only by the application of that other mast-head slogan of the *Weekly People*, the De Leonist principle that "The might of the revolutionary Socialist ballot consists in the thorough industrial organization of the productive workers."

What wonder that the readers of *The People* became Socialists, that they became wary of the traps of capitalism! Their intellectual diet, of which the above is a sample, was, from the beginning of De Leon's editorship, the one diet designed for an understanding of society. Today, by means of reprints of De Leon's editorials, by means of the issue-by-issue use of the Marxist-De Leonist method, that intellectual diet is still available. He who would understand the industrial-feudal and war plans of the masters of society, who would understand why the reformers, the liberals, the so-called Socialists and Communists are supporting capitalism, who would understand why all opposition to capitalist reaction but that of the Socialist Labor Party has collapsed, must read the *Weekly People*, THE organ of Socialism.

The Pioneer Step in Working Class Unionism.

The history of *The People* spans the development of the American labor movement. Indeed, that which is new and of sound growth in the American labor movement first saw light in its columns. That history is one of struggle, of a struggle that still goes on, that will go on until the workers, having rejected the propagators of false principles, attain the Socialist Republic.

In 1895, *The People* recorded the first major attempt to organize the working class on *class* lines—the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. This forward step in working class development, we are told, created consternation in the ranks of the dishonest trade union leaders of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. The S. T. & L. A., like the Industrial Union, was the child of De Leon's recognition that the pure and simple trade union (of the C.I.O., as well as A. F. of L., type) organized the workers to impotence, of his recognition that the workers must organize industrially for Socialism. That act saw a broadening of the class struggle, a broadening that encompassed the Socialist Labor Party itself.

Labels are often deceiving, as can be noted today in the support of American capitalism's war plans by such "Socialists" as Abe Cahan, Louis Waldman, Jasper McLevy and Daniel W. Hoan, by such "Socialist" publications as the Jewish Daily *Forward* and the *New Leader*. It was these men and papers, and/or their Socialist Labor Party antecedents, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Jonas, Algernon Lee, the *Volkszeitung*, that accepted the challenge to capitalism involved in the creation of the S. T. & L. A., and that attempted to wreck the Socialist Labor Party in their endeavor to save capitalist unionism.

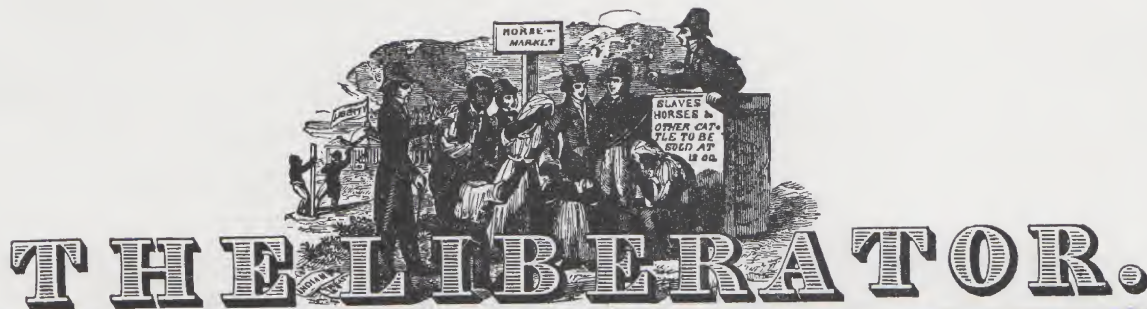
That class struggle was waged against Socialism with *The People* as the immediate target, or, rather, that class struggle was waged against Socialism with the scientific principles, and principles of sound organization, advocated by *The People* the immediate target.

"A privately owned press is like a man's coat," wrote De Leon in 1909. "The coat may cover an S.L.P. man today, and tomorrow an anti-S.L.P. man. There is no safety except in Party ownership."

*The Ideological Parentage of the
"Socialist Party."*

In 1899, *The People* was owned by the Volkszeitung Corporation, the publishing agency of the Party. That corporation was privately owned, made up as it was of individual part-owners who were required to be members of the Socialist Labor Party *before* they were permitted to buy shares. Whether they remained members of the Party or not, whether they remained loyal to the Party or not, whether they uncompromisingly pushed the Party's program or, as actually happened in many cases, "played ball" with Tammany Hall mattered not to the corporation.

Few of the members of the Volkszeitung Corporation could, or would, read *The People*, for they were, with few exceptions, emigres from the anti-



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.] WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. [NO. 24.
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1831.]

Facsimile of "The Liberator"

A predecessor of the *Daily* and *Weekly People* in the struggle for human rights. Its mission was completed by Lincoln's signature to the Emancipation Proclamation. Its editorial policy was summed up in William Lloyd Garrison's famous words:

"The standard of emancipation is
now unfurled.
Let all the enemies of the persecuted
blacks tremble.
I will be as harsh as truth and as
uncompromising as justice.

I am in earnest.
I will not equivocate;
I will not excuse;
I will not retreat a single inch;
And I will be heard.
Posterity will bear witness that I
was right."

Socialist laws of Bismarck, their minds thoroughly German, their prejudices thoroughly anti-American (in a snobbish sense), their sentiments unaroused by the manifestations of capitalism on the American scene, their language that of the land of their birth, their politics that of a nation three thousand miles from the nation of their residence.

Their organ—that of the Party in the German language—was the *Volkszeitung*, a paper that was constitutionally required to be edited *in accord with the principles and tactics of the S.L.P.*, as were all the publications of the Volkszeitung Corporation, or, to give it its legal title, the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association. Its refusal to do this, its insistence that *The People* should be edited in accord with the “principles” of the Volkszeitung Corporation brought the class struggle *into* the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party.

Retrospectively, the waging of that struggle, and the moral and physical victory for the working class elements in the Party, must be viewed as a turning point in the history of Socialism. Without that struggle, without that victory, the Socialist Labor Party would not have been able to cast off the petty-capitalist elements that confused their need for the reform of capitalism with the *working class's* need for the destruction of capitalism. The struggle and the victory enabled the Party to drive straight ahead, unhampered by the dead-weight of the unattainable reform goal espoused by the *Volkszeitung*-Debs crew at the formation of the so-called Socialist party in 1901, by the split-elements of the “Socialist” party at the formation of the so-called Communist party in 1919, by the various splinters of each at the formation of the numerous Trotskyite parties.

Capitalism cannot be reformed. The failure of the *Volkszeitung* element to recognize this is shared today by the victims of the “radical” parties. Like the organs of these latter—*The Call*, the *New Leader*, the *Daily Worker*, *The Militant*, *Labor Action*—the *Volkszeitung* taught the workers that they are exploited as consumers and as tax-payers, thus misleading them into believing that cheaper prices and lower taxes would help the workers as well as the capitalists, that cheap government (the capitalist ideal) is in itself a good thing—with the inevitable result that the workers who believe the nonsense come to the conclusion that a community of interest exists between the two antagonistic classes in society and that capitalism must be saved.

De Leon exposed the fraudulent economics in the columns of *The People*, thus accepting the challenge offered. In a series of masterly editorials, he showed that in a commodity-producing society in which the

Agreement, made between the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association.

It is hereby agreed:

I. The Socialist Labor Party agrees to discontinue the publication of the *Workmens Advocate* with the issue dated March 28, 1891, and to transfer the subscription list of the same to the Soc. Coop. Publ. Association.

II. The Soc. Coop. Publ. Association agrees to publish on April 5, 1891, the first issue of “The People” and to fill out the undischarged balance of all prepaid subscriptions of the *Workmens Advocate*.

III. The Soc. Coop. Publ. Association agrees to reserve so much of the fifth page of the *People* as the S.L.P. may desire for its official use; that the first column of the said fifth page shall be headed: “*Workmens Advocate, Official Organ of the Socialist Labor Party*”, and the space used by the S.L.P. shall be under the sole and exclusive control of the said S.L.P. or its National Executive Committee.

IV. The Chief-Editor of *The People* shall be elected jointly by the National Executive Committee of the S.L.P. and the Board of Trustees of the S.C.P.Ass. and a majority of each of said Boards ~~must~~ shall be required to elect. In case the said Boards cannot agree on an Editor, a general vote of the members ^{of the S.L.P.} shall decide.

V. The S.C.P.Ass. agrees to set aside all net profits that may be realized by the publication of *The People*, after all its outlays and expenses are paid, as a separate fund not to be used except for the publication of *The People* as a daily newspaper.
dated, March 17, 1891.

THE SOC. CO-OPER. PUBL. ASSN.



Edw. W. Smith
Secy
Sam Jacobson
Pres.
Ben J. Greason
National Secretary

Photostatic Reproduction of Contract with Volkszeitung Corporation

Made between Socialist Labor Party and publishing association after model originated in Germany to protect the Party's press from anti-Socialist laws. Note that “the space used by the S.L.P. shall be under the sole and exclusive control of the said S.L.P. or its National Executive Committee,” and in case of tie vote for election of Editor “a general vote of the members of the S.L.P. shall decide.”

battle of capitalist competition is fought with lower production costs the cheapest commodity of all is labor power, and that the tax question is of no interest to the working class because taxes are paid by capitalists from the wealth produced by workers and stolen by capitalists. More, he pointed out that the tax question raised by the *Volkszeitung* was raised because material interests determine men's views, and that the views of the *Volkszeitung* crowd were those of capitalists.

Admittedly, that paper could not live without the support of the conservative trade unions, unions that accepted the anti-working class principle that capital and labor are brothers. From these it obtained advertising revenues that were supposed to support the Party press, but which, in reality, went to the building of an institution that paid large salaries and that catered to the economic interests of small storekeepers, saloon-keepers, small manufacturers, etc.

Again, like the supporters of the fraudulent parties of Socialism and Communism today, the supporters of the *Volkszeitung* dreaded the revolutionary implications of the Party's stand on trade unionism. Official capitalist unionism—then the A. F. of L. and what was left of the Knights of Labor, now the A. F. of L., the railroad brotherhoods and the C.I.O.—was untouchable, to be propagandized from within, perhaps, but, definitely, not to be exposed for what it was and is.

Jobs could be procured within trade unions then as now. Often these were easier to secure when the job-hunter had a "reputation" as an active Socialist. Ostensibly, the job would be sought for the purpose of "educating" the workers within the union. Actually, whether it was a Joseph Schlossberg (or an earlier S.L.P. renegade), or the "revolutionary" former editor of *The Call*, Gus Tyler, the pretenses that Socialist work could be carried on better when the sanctity of capitalist unionism was accepted as a principle were invariably exploded when the "borers from within" became part and parcel of the corruption, and, like those mentioned, became as belligerent in their capitalist warmongering as the most degenerate unpaid mouthpieces of the system that must be destroyed if there is to be peace.

Their principles being capitalist principles, the *Volkszeitung* crowd used capitalist methods in their fight against the Party and against *The People*. The members of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association were merely the trustees of the Party, the National Executive Committee showed on June 6, 1899. This was demonstrated by the known facts at the time of its creation and by the very words of the constitution of the Association. The trustees

were "especially appointed to create and develop a Party press, subject at all times to Party control, regardless of any property rights which the capitalistic law of the State vested in them, and which, by the superior law of Socialist ethics, they were bound never to enforce, claim, or even mention." The Party retained the right to name the Editor.

The *Volkszeitung* element showed its disregard for all Socialist ethics, and even capitalist law, by peremptorily "dismissing" the Editor on July 12, 1899. Earlier, on July 10, they "deposed" the National Executive Committee of the Party, and raided the Party's headquarters with the intention of capturing by illegal physical force that which fraud could not accomplish.

The People remained the property of the Party. Daniel De Leon remained its Editor. Illegality was shown for what it was. The National Convention of 1900, acting in response to the recorded votes of the membership, reasserted the right of the Party to call itself the Party of Socialism, and formally placed the control of the Party press where it belongs—in the hands of the Party itself.

Marxian Science Advances.

The *Daily People* was launched on July 1, 1900. A new era in Socialist journalism began. For almost fourteen years, the events of the day were analyzed daily by the most inspired pen in the history of the American working class, by a man who soon proved his right to rank with Marx alone as a Socialist thinker.

A remarkable development in Socialist thought took place, inspired, not alone by the daily attention to the needs of the working class but also by the observation that capitalist development had reached the point where all power resided, potentially, in the hands of the workers in the workshops. On April 21, 1904, De Leon delivered his famous address, "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism." The columns of the *Daily People* carried it far and wide. From coast to coast, workers who had been shown the need for revolutionary, for *working class*, unions became aware of the "organization and tactics necessary for the Socialist and Labor movement to adopt, as it approaches the time of the social revolution." The idea with which the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was pregnant was born—the idea that the union must be an organization through which the workers "can directly and effectively carry on the administration and operation of industry when capitalist usurpation has been unseated," and that that "unseating" is the joint task of such an *industrial* union

and the political expression of Labor's right to revolution, the Socialist Labor Party.

On July 10, 1905, De Leon delivered another address that was carried in the columns of the *Daily People*. "The Preamble of the I.W.W.," later entitled the "Socialist Reconstruction of Society," has been tested by time and its principles found correct. Delivered less than a fortnight after the convention that established the first organization of the workers into Socialist Industrial Unions, the address supplemented and gathered into one integral whole the principles of organization, tactic and aim that De Leon had propounded in his daily editorials.

The Industrial Workers of the World was the product of De Leon's genius. Its destruction was the work of men who ignored the sound principles upon which it was built, who, unable to escape from the capitalist training that taught them that physical force tactics were the tactics to be used in bringing about social change, played into the hands of the State power that has much more physical force at its command than have the assorted romantics who visualized themselves as great "leaders."

Industrial Unionism, however, was not destroyed by the acts of petty men. It continued, and continues, to be advocated in the columns of *The People*. No more than the *need* for social change can the method of obtaining that change be destroyed.

"Parliamentary idiocy" has shown itself to be exactly that. The experience of the workers in Europe prove that political action alone cannot give the workers power. Barricade romanticism has shown itself equally barren of results that benefit the working class. In Germany, in Italy, in Spain, in Austria, in France, in Great Britain, the workers were organized politically for the alleged purpose of winning power by the ballot, or by the bullet. "Labor" parties, "Socialist" parties, "Communist" parties *promised* things to the workers. Reforms now; revolution later. Instead, the workers were thrown into industrial feudalism and war, precisely the "gifts" of capitalism that the workers of America will receive unless they recognize that De Leon was right when he wrote in the *Daily People* that "without the integrally organized Union of the Working Class, the revolutionary act is impossible."

"In the ears of *The People*," wrote Daniel De Leon in 1898, "rings the cry of an outraged working class — children, women and men — held in the bonds of wage slavery and scourged by all the miseries and woes of the capitalist system; while even above that cry rise the peals of laughter from the bacchanalian orgies of the capitalist class. Its heart fired by the sentiment of humanity, and its head cool in the conviction that exact knowledge and science impart, *The People's* blows for freedom will rain in the future as they have done in the past with the same, or even increasing, vigor upon the devoted head of the capitalist exploiter and his multifarious pickets and outposts."

The *Weekly People* has a great tradition, a tradition that it will not dishonor. Time has not blunted its conscience. "Failure" has not made it cynical. The actions of cowards have not discouraged it. The unfolding of the plans of capitalism has not intimidated it. As in the past, so in the future, while the capitalist system of exploitation, poverty and war exists, the Socialist Labor Party press will continue to educate the working class, will continue to expose the bestiality of capitalism, will continue to blaze the trail to the classless society of Socialism.

Capitalism Must Be Destroyed! Of that the *Weekly People*, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, is more determined than ever. Fifty years of observation have convinced it that De Leon spoke for sanity when he said that capitalism cannot be reformed, that every attempt to do so is in reality a concealed measure of reaction.

In the difficult times ahead, the *Weekly People* will continue to speak for sanity. Its message must be spread far and wide. The uncompromising Party of Progress will see to it that each of its issues is filled with facts, and conclusions from those facts, facts that show the working class that only Socialism can save civilization from barbarism.

The future challenges classconscious workers. The present prods them on. The past assures them that hopes can be realized. The *Weekly People* arms them with material that must be used in freeing their class.

By
Arnold
Petersen



Theocracy or Democracy?

The moment religion organizes into a specific creed it becomes a political force. From Moses down to Brigham Young, every creed-founder has been a state-builder. Creeds being in their essence political, they fatedly reflect economic and social, in short, material conditions—and struggle for the same. As a final consequence every creed, like every political party, naturally and sincerely holds all others wrong, itself alone right.... It is important to realize this great historic fact. It tears away the mask of religion behind which political aspirations love to conceal themselves. The tearing away of the mask serves the double purpose of thwarting deception, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, promoting a spirit of intelligent fair play on the part of any one political body toward all others, including, of course, the unmasked political bodies as well.—Daniel De Leon: "Ultramontanism."

STATIUS, a Roman poet who lived during the second half of the first century after Christ, enunciated in stately Latin the truth that "Fear was the first creator of gods in the world." ("Primus in orbe deos fecit imor.") We are told that God created man in his own image. Considering the multiplicity of multi-varying gods since man first trembled at the specter of lightning and thunder, and considering the great variety in human beings—their different appearances, shapes and tongues—the acceptance of this theory has ever placed a heavy strain upon the credulity of

those otherwise intelligent persons who seek desperately to cling to the faith of their fathers. It is much easier to accept the theory that man created his gods in *his* own image. "The god of the cannibals," said Emerson, "will be a cannibal, of the crusader a crusader, and of the merchant a merchant." The wise Goethe, with his usual perspicacity, said:

"Wie einer ist, so ist sein Gott,
Darum ward Gott so oft zu Spott."
("As a man is, so is his god;
Therefore was god so often mocked.")

And as long ago as the sixth century before Christ, the ancient Greek-Italian philosopher, Xenophanes, ridiculed his contemporaries, and criticized Homer, for making their gods in their own image. In one of the fragments surviving of his writings, Xenophanes said:

"Yet men imagine gods to be born, and to have raiment and voice and body, like themselves. . . . Even so the gods of the Ethiopians are swarthy and flat-nosed, the gods of the Thracians are fair-haired and blue-eyed. . . . Even so Homer and Hesiod attributed to the gods all that is a shame and a reproach among men—theft, adultery, deceit and other lawless acts. . . . Even so oxen, lions and horses, if they had hands wherewith to grave images, would fashion gods after their own shapes and make them bodies like to their own."

For a philosopher to have been able to see and express in simple words all this at so early a period indicates a mind of superior order, and it helps us today to perceive even more clearly the truth that man does, indeed, make his gods, now as in the past, in his own image, and obviously not the other way around.

Fear is the result of ignorance. Man cowers in the presence of the unknown, especially the unknown which threatens his life or security. Man's gods, then, are created in his frightened mental, or, if you like, spiritual image, as well as in his own physical likeness. And once fashioned, man's god, like a Frankenstein creation, possesses and dominates man, and while the form and character of his deity (or deities) may change in the measure that man grows in knowledge and understanding of natural forces (and, in our days, of social and economic forces as well), this god has remained, on the whole, a subject of his creator's fears.

However, in the degree that man has conquered and therefore understood nature, in that degree he has ceased to become the terror-stricken prey of nature and of nature's violence. Knowing now that thunder and lightning are but the uncontrolled manifestations of the controlled force which now supplies him with light, heat and motive power, he no longer seeks to propitiate the gods of thunder and lightning. Rather does he seek to trap that which to him was once the expression of his deity's wrath—to trap it and to run it into the ground, spent and impotent. Jove's thunderbolt and Thor's mighty hammer, before which man once crouched in abject terror, become the subjects of charming legends for use in the nursery room. But if man has greatly mastered and understood nature, he (in the mass) still stands uncomprehending before the manifestations of social

forces. These social forces inspire modern man with varying degrees of wonder alternating with apprehension and often with terror. And just as his primitive ancestor eons ago cowered before the elements, and later prostrated himself before the graven images of the gods born of his fear (or salaamed before the priesthood of his self-created gods), so now he cowers, trembles and prostrates himself when great social catastrophes shake him out of the dull complacency too frequently attending the dreary routine of his everyday tasks.

Hence, in times of such great social catastrophes (and usually in times of war) man turns to mysticism. Speaking of the earlier social cataclysmic changes, Dr. Gustav Bang says¹:

"He [the oppressed] felt himself abandoned to social forces which he could not combat. He saw no way out of misery, neither through individual efforts nor through a united class struggle. . . . His thoughts struck the road to mysticism. . . . A Savior was dreamt of, one who should come and redeem humanity through supernatural means. . . ."

And so now. Mankind today faces the greatest social catastrophe in all history. Tremendous forces have been released which (mainly uncontrolled) are bringing death, destruction and disaster to the world, and terror to the mass of humanity. In vain does the average man and woman seek to understand, to explain this terrible holocaust, more dreadful in its form and substance, and in its foreshadowed awful consequences, than anything experienced by man in earlier crises. The explanation is to be had—the remedy is at hand—but the mass of humanity knows nothing of either, and for all practical purposes what is not known has no present reality or existence. And so man again—urged by the priesthood—implores his gods for mercy and succor, for peace and salvation. The modern priesthood, and the ruling class generally, know that a remedy is offered. If they reject it, it is primarily because that remedy is recognized as a menace to their private vested interests and class privileges. And the greater the social upheaval, the more intense their efforts to turn the mass mind from the practical ways and means presented to solve the great problem, the more feverishly they labor to turn that mass mind toward everlasting "salvation" and peace—beyond the grave! The priests and the politicians invoke the aid of God, pray to God, urge ways and means of appeasing, of propitiating God. And they do this, not as helpless primitive creatures in the realm of nature, but as supposedly intelligent,

¹"Crises in European History."

creative beings in a man-made world! And they do this, some in their blindness and naiveté, but most of them in order to protect, and (if possible) to preserve and prolong the social system by which they benefit at the expense of the mass of humanity—the working class of the world; they do this in order to preserve their class privileges and the ease, leisure and superfluities that go with these. “He was a wise man,” said Euripides of old, “who originated the idea of God.” Wise, indeed, old son of Athens! And wise also was he who conceived the idea of a priesthood to act as the mouthpiece of the invented deity! On the occasion of the birthday of our greatest President, the creed-less and noble Abraham Lincoln, a prominent ecclesiastic, William T. Manning, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, addressed this supplication to the Christian God:

“Help us all to realize the great dangers which now threaten us. Overrule by thy Almighty Power the forces of tyranny, cruelty and aggression and grant that the nations now enslaved may be liberated and restored to their freedom and their rights.

“In this hour of world crisis, grant that our whole nation may stand united, that we may give our utmost aid to Great Britain and all who stand with her for justice and human liberty, and that we may do this without delay for the defense of our own land, for the preservation of Christian civilization and for the sake of all mankind.”

There is no doubt in Bishop Manning’s mind that the deity is on the side of the British, despite Napoleon’s insistence that “God is on the side of the strongest battalions”! Nor has he any doubt about the British Empire’s salvation being also the salvation of civilization—our “Christian civilization,” the Bishop calls it. “Christian civilization”—let us ponder that a little. Let us see if we can define the phrase and discover its inner meaning, its real connotation and full implication.

II.

In his annual message to Congress delivered January 4, 1939, President Roosevelt made a departure from the subject of his message (which was supposed to be “on the state of the union”) and entered upon a brief discourse on matters ultra-terrestrial. For a few moments he discarded the robe of king (“rex”), and donned that of priest (“pontifex”). In one of the opening paragraphs of his message he said:

“Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans, *now as always*.

The first is religion. It is the source of the other two—democracy and international good faith.

“Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbors.” (*Italics mine.*)

A little later the President said:

“An ordering of society which relegates *religion*, democracy and good faith to the background can find no place within it for the ideals of the Prince of Peace. The United States rejects such an ordering, and retains its ancient faith. . . . The defense of *religion*, of democracy and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. *To save one we must now make up our minds to save all.*” (*Italics mine.*)

Mr. Roosevelt’s repeated enumerations of religion as being among America’s “indispensable institutions” (note the significant phrase “institution”), and that it is the source of democracy and world peace, constituted not merely a departure from his very secular subject, but it constituted an attempt—a surreptitious, but nonetheless bold, attempt—to effect a departure from one of the most settled American traditions since the founding of the republic, the tradition of a strictly secular government, unrelated to, and completely divorced from church, creed or general religion. So strongly did the fathers feel on this subject that the very first of the ten Amendments added to the Constitution shortly after its adoption expressly forbids Congress to make any law which would provide for the establishment of religion—mark this: “religion” in general, not merely a particular creed, but *religion*. The part of the Amendment referring to religion reads:

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, OR prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . .”

This is crystal-clear: It means that the Constitutional fathers relegated religion to the status of a strictly private matter. No American was to be denied the right to worship as he pleased and what he pleased, OR NOT TO WORSHIP AT ALL IF IT SO PLEASED HIM! The right to practise a particular religion was to be held no more sacred than the right to refuse to practise any religion. It meant, and has always meant, that among the inviolable rights of Americans is the right to believe in a God, and to deny the existence of a God; the right to accept as holy and revealed, or to reject as nursery tales and myths, the Bible, the Koran, the Hindu scriptures, the Buddhist scriptures, the Confucianist scriptures, the Taoist scriptures, the Zoroastrian scrip-



The Protectors of the Republic

The military and the judiciary, Capitalist and Priest, will "protect" the republic in order the better to destroy it.

—Caricature by Steinlen, 1901.

tures, etc., or any of the claims made by the followers of the various deities and their prophets, from the oldest down to Brigham Young and Mother Eddy! When President Roosevelt (in expounding the nature and form of our government, and the rights the people enjoy, and the responsibilities they owe under that form of government and the Constitution) insists that there can be no democracy without religion, or, conversely, that there can be no religion without democracy, he is guilty of perverting and misrepresenting the principles upon which this republic was founded. Whether he did so deliberately, or whether he was merely expressing himself carelessly, is of no great moment.

The assumption is justified that he knowingly attacked the first Amendment to the Constitution for reasons that are not as yet clear. In part, at least, it seems to have been done to placate the ecclesiastic powers generally, but chiefly, no doubt, the Roman Catholic Church. If Mr. Roosevelt's amazing recognition of religion as an American institution, and as indispensable as American democracy, was intended merely as a passing and polite reference to a powerful pressure group, and not as an attempt to subvert the traditional American political principle of secularism, he would undoubtedly have rebuked or refuted those who saw in his utterances the proclamation of a new policy which would commit this country to a revival of the ancient theocratic conception of government. For though the President did not openly avow theocracy, that is what his claim amounts to, and that is what it inevitably would lead to if he were to follow consistently the logic of the position he laid down.

Whether or not, then, the President's remarks were made with sinister intent, with the intent to initiate a new social polity, his statement was seized upon with glee by ecclesiastics of different denominations and faiths, and by those omniscient and ubiquitous oracles, the capitalist press columnists—and not necessarily fifth-columnists! The mouthpiece of the plutocracy *par excellence*, Mr. Walter Lippmann, expertly caught the ball thrown by the President, and the lesser practitioners of Mr. Lippmann's calling quickly followed suit. On January 7, 1939, Mr. Lippmann hailed Mr. Roosevelt's declaration as "a landmark in the history of Western thought." A landmark, no less! Mr. Lippmann has no hesitancy in recording his acceptance of the President's "new" policy in the most emphatic and unqualified terms. The declaration, Mr. Lippmann says, "registers a change of ideas which is absolutely fundamental. . . ." It marks, he says, "the reconciliation . . . between patriotism, freedom, democracy and religion."

Mr. Lippmann wants to assure us that he does not regard the President's remarks as "a conventional tribute to religion." He goes on: "But that the President, who is the most influential democratic leader in the world, should recognize religion as the source of democracy and of international good faith is not a mere matter of words; it is a fundamental re-orientation in the liberal democratic outlook upon life."

Mr. Lippmann is no naive simpleton, nor is he a professional Sunday school teacher. When he implies that he believes with the President that religion is the source of democracy, he really means that it would be splendid if the idea would be generally accepted. He recognizes the fact (though he may not understand what caused the fact) that a cohesive force is needed in a political society to keep the masses in control, to keep them in *disciplined obedience*. He sees that the era of competition has come to an end. During the period when capitalism was growing and expanding, ever seeking new outlets, new opportunities to thrive, competition furnished the checks and balances which somehow kept the capitalist system functioning, both with respect to the production and exchange of commodities generally, as well as with respect to the commodity labor power. However wasteful and anarchical, however much labor suffered through the cycles of "prosperity" and crises, through the seemingly never-ending process of expansion and recovery, ever and anon a sort of equilibrium was restored, though each new expansion, each new recovery, led to ever greater crises. But world capitalism can no longer expand; competition has virtually come to an end—where it still survives it is of no real effect on capitalism basically.

Thus, since capitalism can no longer be counted upon to regulate the habits and conduct of the wage slaves as of old, a super-regulating force is needed if society remains on a class rule and private property basis—that is, if society remains political. Something firmer, more compelling than the *laissez-faire* principle of old is required. If the mass of the people (specifically the working class) can be induced to accept the theory that religion is the source of democracy (i.e., bourgeois democracy), and understanding by that democracy a way of life which promises good wages, "reasonable" hours of labor, kind employers, and all the rest of the social program jointly formulated by the "New Deal" and the papacy, it follows that the workers, in order to preserve and defend this "democracy," must defend religion, and vice versa. And a basis is thus provided for that Industrial Feudal Order which ruling classes everywhere, instinctively or consciously, blunderingly

or with careful design, are seeking to introduce when a semblance of peace and order may have been established.

Mr. Lippmann shows that he is not naive, but that he clearly sees the implication of the President's proposed "fundamental change," and keenly perceives the trend toward the establishment of a modern theocracy—a theocracy which (while based on the same principle, and charged with the same spirit as the earlier theocracies) will (if successful) be as different from these latter as Socialism will be different from ancient communism, though the basic principles and spirit of the latter will reappear in the future Socialist Republic. If successful, it will be a theocracy as cruel in spirit, and as destructive of freedom, as was the old theocracy; but its form will, of course, be molded by the machine age, its means of compulsion will be more subtle and refined, but if anything it will be even more destructive of the mind and spirit of the economically enslaved masses that are meekly expected to submit to its rule. And it will be more paralyzing in its effect on the *will*, and more deadening on the *aspiration* of these masses so far as an otherwise realizable new and higher society of freedom and genuine culture may again eventually be visualized.

How does Mr. Lippmann translate—and prop-

erly translate—the President's words into ruling class realism? Mr. Lippmann does so in the following:

"And so, whereas formerly *the masses* to whom the President speaks held that social reform could be achieved only by the *class struggle*, in this message he tells them . . . *that the class struggle must stop if the masses are to improve their lot*. . . . Where formerly they believed that religion is either negligible and antiquated, or that it is, as the Communists say, 'the opiate of the people,' he tells them that on the religious traditions of the West, *and on no other foundation*, can human liberty be maintained." (Italics mine.)

We shall give a little thought later to these "religious traditions of the West," but meanwhile it is interesting to note the admissions, and the implications of the words, of this cold-blooded, calculating and cynical would-be high priest of this nascent plutocratic theocracy: There is the admission of the existence of the class struggle, and that the masses have acted in obedience to its terms—consciously or not is immaterial here. There is the thinly veiled threat that the class struggle must stop: Mr. Lippmann might learn from the example of King Canute who knew that he could not sweep back the waves and

(Continued on page 55.)



On to the Protest Meeting!

Caricature on the clerical schoolteachers as the guardians of the rural population.

—By Arpad Schmidhammer ("Der Scherer," Innsbruck).

The 'Nineties with De Leon

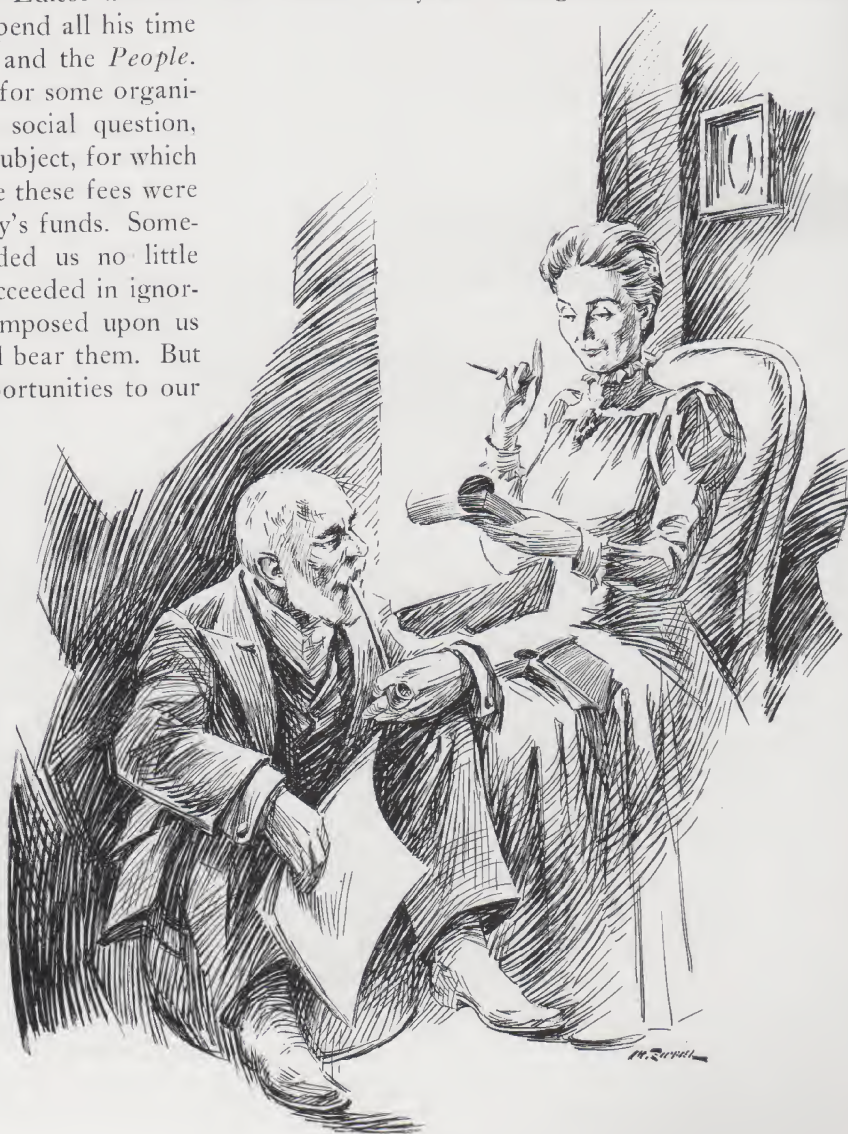
By BERTHA C. DE LEON

AFTER spending a few days in Stamford, Connecticut, we went to 1487 Avenue A, now York Avenue, near 79th Street, New York, where we lived for twenty years. Our home was a railroad flat, a type of apartment long since outlawed by the building code of the city, having all the conveniences of its type and time! We lived in such an apartment, not because we chose to, nor because we thought it character-building, as Diogenes might have thought, but because the stipend the Party could manage to pay the Editor allowed us no choice. De Leon wished to spend all his time and energy on work for the Party and the *People*. Occasionally he was asked to speak for some organization seeking information on the social question, or to write an article upon the same subject, for which he would be paid. In every instance these fees were immediately turned over to the Party's funds. Sometimes our forced economies afforded us no little amusement and, in the main, we succeeded in ignoring or overlooking any hardships imposed upon us by circumstances; we could grin and bear them. But it was hard to accept denial of opportunities to our children. We never felt, however, that we were martyrs or that we were sacrificing ourselves. De Leon always strenuously denied that any work done to further the advent of the Socialist Republic could, under any circumstances, be called a sacrifice. The hour seemed to have struck for the spade-work of Socialism to be done, and De Leon seemed marked as the man to do it. That was all—nothing else mattered.

As I look back upon the scene, the social picture of the decade that had just begun seems incredibly confused and chaotic. Fifty years of education and propaganda by the Socialist Labor Party have somewhat clarified the relations of the "haves" and

"have nots," the exploiters and the exploited. An articulate few now understand that the social problem will not be solved until the workers create the Socialist Industrial Government wherein all society, including the members of the present exploited and exploiting classes, is producing for use only, and every worker receives the full value of what he produces.

At the beginning of the 1890-1900 decade, there were millions of harassed men and women all over the country, who resented the distressing conditions under which they were living, but most of them were



unaware of the cause of these conditions, or how to remove them. The distressed ones knew that they could never succeed in reaching even the comparative plenty and security they longed for. They realized that no matter how hard or how long they worked, under the prevailing conditions life could never grow safer or richer, but, on the contrary, steadily bleaker and more insecure. Capitalism had developed so fast since the Civil War—and that war lay as far behind them as World War I lies behind us—that people were dazed at the stupendous changes in agriculture and industry and the consequent unemployment. They had begun to see dimly that if these crushing conditions were ever to be removed, they and they alone would have to do the job. But a society wherein free men and women were at work upon chosen tasks, receiving full value for all they produced, was the vision of few.

So, in accordance with the particular background and environment of each individual, the rebellious fell into the various loosely formed, visionless reform groups of the day, insistently demanding that something, almost anything, be done to better the conditions of the times so patently out of joint. The largest and most vociferous group was, of course, the famous Populist party, practically a farmers' party, insisting on cheap money as a major concession. It went up like a rocket to the cheers of millions of hopeful supporters, but came down like a stick to the great disappointment of the distressed farmers. With practically no sources for economic education for the dissatisfied at that time, there were many startling notions extant. A Populist State Committeeman of Kansas believed or so stated that "These plutocrats are ignoramuses. They claim that money must have intrinsic value when every one knows that intrinsic value means the power or value of food to sustain life." The Prohibition party came with the claim that drinking was the cause of much of the poverty in the land and that it also lowered the moral standards of society in various ways. The Prohibition party believed that the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor would automatically banish the poverty of the drinker and his family and benefit the nation as a whole, both economically and morally. Of the economic aspect they forgot that the rich, proportionately to the number in their class, drink far more than the poor and still can scarcely be said to suffer from poverty! The results of Prohibition, when it came, must have been a blow to those who had believed it would bring economic relief to the poverty-stricken and raise the moral standards of society.

The Woman's Suffrage party, though by no means a new party, was coming into greater prom-

inence at this time and growing fast in point of members and sympathizers. As to economic questions, it relied upon the belief, or hope, that women, if enfranchised, would bring new power and prestige to the ballot by instinctively voting *right*, thus bringing a new and better order into the political scene that would right the economic wrongs of the times. Few, if any, of the Suffrage party searched further for an answer to the burning economic question, though among its leaders were many sympathetic and able women who must have been surprised and mystified, when, upon reaching their long-sought goal, there was neither relief from economic ills nor cleansing of corrupt political conditions. The enfranchisement of women was an obvious but tardy justice to women, but it brought the solution of the social problem not one minute nearer.

Workers' "Leadership"—the Mercenary and the Muddled.

Among the schemes for bettering the situation of the desperate, "colonies," as a prospective refuge, played their part. Their sponsors proposed to build cooperative commonwealths, economic paradises, right then and there in the midst of capitalism. Naturally, they all failed completely and their only effect was to discourage and muddle still more those struggling to find a way out of the economic thicket. One of the groups wanting to better the situation declared that "secular" efforts were bound to fail and advocated the practice of the Golden Rule, insisting that it would solve the problem. Even its proposers soon found how impractical the scheme was. They could not abolish poverty, without also abolishing profits. The Single Tax party, though beginning to decline, was still active, and had many adherents, some of whom were alienated by the stand taken by the Single tax organ on the sentences imposed on the Haymarket victims. It said, rather piously, "The law must be upheld." These victims were anarchists and their creed of violence surely pushed them toward their fate, but they had been framed by the Chicago police and were later proved innocent of the bombing charges. Many workers saw in the sentences a warning to the working class to submit meekly to the powers that rule. The Knights of Labor, once a powerful organization, founded by Uriah Stevens, on the principles of the class struggle, was sinking into pure and simple unionism despite the efforts of some of its classconscious members to save it. It expired before the middle of the decade.

The A. F. of L., although only adolescent, was already infested with labor fakers. Gompers lead-

ing, there were also Mitchell of the Miners and Arthur of the Railroad Brotherhood, and all were adept at deceiving the rank and file and ingratiating themselves with the employers. These and the lesser fakers hated the idea of classconsciousness, and the battle between them and the S.L.P. has not yet ended. The successors of this brood of vampires, the Greens, Lewises, Wolls, Murrys and Hillmans, are trying to blind the rank and file to the fact that they are headed for industrial feudalism, unless they become classconscious and organize into Socialist Industrial Unions. In the meantime, these fakers are feathering their nests while the picking is so good.

Amid this din and confusion came the tramp, tramp of Coxey's and Kelly's and many other smaller "armies," whose "soldiers" knew nothing of the burning issues except that they were hungry, cold and ragged. Most of them never reached Washington, their destination, and, although the capitalists were frightened temporarily, no lasting good was accomplished.

Early in the decade Debs, the idol of the railroad workers, and an honest man devoted to the working class, had begun his work. Unfortunately, he caused much confusion in his day. Had he been as realistic as his enemies, the railroad companies, he would have accomplished something for the workers. The following story I found in an exchange and clipped for De Leon. During a long-drawn-out strike in the Midwest a reporter called upon a representative of a railroad to learn how the strike was progressing, when it was going to end, etc. "And who is going to win?" said the reporter. "The railroad," said the representative. "It is like this. If you lay a silver dollar on the shelf for three months, at the end of the time you have still a good silver dollar. Lay a man on the shelf for three months and you have a corpse."

Could the workers' situation be put more clearly—or brutally?

And this decade, with its misery, hopelessness, helplessness, and its pitiful attempts at revolt, is called the Gay Nineties by social commentators! The gaiety was all in the ruling class. The riotous revelry and dissipation of "Society" almost rivalled that of the late twenties that preceded the crash of '29, that ominous cracking of the shell of capitalism.

Literature of "Revolt" vs. the Party.

From this whirlwind of rebellion, a veritable blizzard of the literature of revolt, radical and reform books, periodicals, papers and labor organs, letters asking and offering advice, information and floods of misinformation from all parts of the coun-



1487 Avenue A, New York

Where De Leon Lived from 1887 to 1913
(Third story, two windows to the left)

try, and in various languages, fell upon the *Weekly People* and headquarters. Socialism was occasionally commended but more frequently criticized. It aimed too high, wanted too much, was Utopian, dangerous, materialistic, impractical, unworkable, a destroyer of the family and home, un-Godly, un-American and what not. The Party, still very young, had to lean against the wind from within as well as from without. It was pestered by the freaks, frauds, "filosofers," charlatans, the mistaken and misguided, whom De Leon called "the lunatic fringe," and to these might be added a "shady fringe" of the morally weak and repellent, in short, the riffraff who always camp close to a new movement until they are cast out by the growth and vigor of the movement. The problem raised by these elements consumed time and energy that would otherwise have been expended on propaganda. Added to this hurly-burly and these obstacles was the unending and partly futile quest for financial support.

Into this maelstrom, or maelstrom it seemed to me, plunged the orderly De Leon and attacked the work with characteristic energy and vigor, through long and arduous hours, then and thereafter, though

he had always the happy faculty of "resting hard" when an hour or a day could be snatched from the routine he set for himself. I was eager to make myself as useful as possible and enjoyed reading and clipping the daily papers and the *People's* exchanges. I read proof of the *Weekly People* and all the printed matter that De Leon turned out, on down or up to the earlier Sue Books, continuing as much of the work as I could manage, till our growing family claimed all my time and attention.

In reading letters and exchanges that came to the office I was indignant and astounded at the abuse and vilification heaped upon the Party and De Leon, which amused him not a little. "You will learn," said he, "that the only weapons the enemies of Socialism have to use against it are slander and abuse. Should the logical enemies of the Party and me speak well of us, we would immediately take stock to find where we had made a misstep. The curses of the enemy are compliments; his compliments would be curses." I soon learned this, and, consequently, could read the most abusive attacks very calmly.

Early in his editorial experience there sprang up a legend that De Leon was unapproachable, awesome, soured. "Does that man ever smile?" was a not infrequent question to the National Office. This amused his intimates, who knew that he had a deep vein of humor, a large fund of humorous stories, and the accompanying temperament. Several years later when Precht did his excellent portrait of De Leon, the children quickly settled for all time whether or not he ever smiled. He had taken some of them with him to the office where he sat for Precht and they were all very much interested in "papa's portrait." They were disappointed, however, when it came home. "Oh, but papa is always smiling and here he looks so sober, almost sad," they chimed, practically in chorus.

Critics Dissected and Contemned.

There were many people who were ostensibly interested in the Party and its program, and even some Party members, who wavered before De Leon's logical thought and accurate speech and written word. "Why be harsh or intolerant or seem abusive or vindictive or despotic?" they would say, and admonish him that "vinegar never catches flies." Unruffled by this criticism, he would explain, with a chuckle and the irrepressible twinkle in his eye, why all "these bouquets" were showered on him. "If I prove," said he, "that an apple cannot be divided in such a manner that each of two persons can be given the larger share, the A's who, for some reason known

only to themselves perhaps, wish to deny that fact, say I'm harsh. If I say that the absence of color means black and no other hue, the B's, whose interests lead them to wish it were not black, pronounce me intolerant. If I show that two plus two equals four, nothing more and nothing less, the C's who wish to flee that fact insist that I'm despotic. If I say that, when I see a rat's head on the left, a rat's tail a certain distance from it on the right, there must be a rat's body connecting them, and that *that is a rat*, the D's, who wish to escape that inescapable and perhaps embarrassing or even incriminating fact, loudly proclaim me abusive and vindictive. As to the vinegar proverb, what on earth or in heaven has that to do with the Party and its program. Of course, vinegar never catches flies, and, contrariwise, sugar or honey always catches flies. But the Socialist Labor Party is not engaged in 'catching flies.' Its purpose, above



Some of De Leon's Summer Playgrounds at Milford, Connecticut

Sweet House, Pond Street, 1895-1896 and 1898-1900;
Capt. Ford's House, Lafayette Street, 1897;
Feltis's House, Seaside Avenue, 1901-1906.

all things, is to draw to it not flies, but men and women, mentally and physically unafraid and self-respecting, who long to, and are determined to, tear from themselves the shackles of wage slavery, and it will take truth, hard truth, naked truth, and not 'sweet talk,' to show these men and women how to do it. The truth may be unpalatable to some at first, and perhaps wholly unacceptable to others, but it is truth alone that will show them how to free themselves."

Apocryphos of unpalatable truth, an amusing little incident occurs to me. I had a friend in the West who wished a friend of hers, then in New York, to become acquainted with us. She called and, finding me away from home, went to the office to see De Leon. Reporting upon the call to her friend, she said, "I simply cannot understand how *such a sheet* as the *Weekly People* can come from the hand of the cultivated and charming individual I found Mr. De Leon to be." The young lady, herself a charming and an apparently sympathetic person, was a social worker and obviously a reader of the *People*. She evidently shrank from the fact that Socialism states and proves that the class to which she "ministered" is robbed of its share—all—of the economic apple, by the class that furnished her livelihood and the charity she "bestowed" on its victims; found it strange and disconcerting perhaps that a "cultivated and charming" person could believe and utter such an unpalatable thing—truth.

*Industrial Union Idea Born During
'92 Campaign.*

In the fall of 1892, the Party nominated De Leon for Governor of New York. One of his campaign speeches was entitled, "What I shall do when I become Governor of New York." One Ben Tucker, a "philosophical" anarchist and professional Atheist, said in his organ, *The Truth Seeker*: "Dan De Leon is roaming the state telling people what he is going to do when he becomes Governor. Now, Dan, why don't you tell them what you are going to do when you become God? The chances are about even." We thought it was a smart quip, and not so distant from the truth. We enjoyed it and laughed heartily over it. But thereby hangs a tale of far-reaching significance and implications. I am convinced that, because of the thoughtful repetition of that speech, a conception of the futility of political action alone entered De Leon's mind and planted there the seed of the Industrial Union idea that several year later was to sprout and grow. And what a potent and fruitful idea it was! An idea by which we may take advan-

tage of the gift bestowed upon this nation by the Founding Fathers, at its Revolutionary birth; the priceless gift of the right and privilege to change our form of government in a peaceful and orderly manner whenever it becomes destructive of our birth-right, the right to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; a gift never before bestowed upon any nation in the history of the world. What an idea! An idea that will enable humanity to found a civilization based upon the brotherhood of man, a civilization that will blossom with a beauty and a glory far beyond our sublimest dreams.

To De Leon and me this idea was full compensation for any hardships we may have encountered and experienced. Who would not feel compensated, warmed and uplifted by the majesty and grandeur of the idea and its implications!

De Leon was an omnivorous reader and seemed able to find "ammunition" for his work in everything he read, and he and the Party officers desired to enable all the Party workers to do the same. There being practically no native Socialist literature to bring before them, it was necessary and desirable to place in their hands solid European Socialist literature. De Leon had put into English, early in 1892, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science" by Engels, and he now began the translation of the series of Kautsky pamphlets, a minor task physically, but most important in propaganda. He did the work at home and I wrote in English in long hand at his dictation. I could help little as I don't know German and it is needless to say that De Leon knew my native tongue better than I. But I did know the slang and idioms of English and could give him a lift there, if needed. He liked to use a certain amount of slang, saying that it is picturesque and often illuminates an idea as nothing else can. Fifty years ago this was more or less heretical among those who spoke, wrote and enjoyed hearing good English. Like many another I have always admired De Leon's style. His case was built up of solid blocks of facts, with often a little humor or satire for mortar, set squarely, one upon the other, until the apex, the climax is reached, and the argument stands foursquare, unshakable, unanswerable. While this is the aim of every writer or speaker of serious intent, I think De Leon excelled in it. It seemed natural to him and he obviously cultivated it, in order to make clearer than clear the principles and tactics of Socialism. It is hardly possible, he often said, to place enough emphasis upon the vital necessity of each and every Party member, and all others who can be reached and interested, being thoroughly educated and grounded in the program of the Party. "Agitate, Educate, Organize"

was no repetitious, deadening-dull slogan with De Leon, but a throbbing, living call to action, and this call, it is very apparent, was the underlying idea of every editorial, every article, every speech of his. This thorough education of the working men and women in the Party, and others if possible, he said, is necessary to enable them to stand their ground mentally against the force of the stream of miseducation, misinformation and falsity, direct and indirect, that is poured out upon the workers, camouflaged sometimes in sympathetic and patriotic language, from press, pulpit and schools—and today the radio. The worker must learn how to discern what is to *his* interest as a member of the exploited class, and what is to the interest of his economic enemy, the exploiting, the capitalist, class. He must learn how to dispel the fog with which the exploiting class tries to envelop him intellectually. He must be educated and trained to reject absolutely the capitalist bait of reform measures that is always dangling before him.

In July, 1893, De Leon attended the International Socialist Congress in Zurich, as delegate from the S.L.P. of the United States. He got a disturbing impression there: He sensed a lack or an error in their underlying ideas that seemed to spell defeat and disaster for most of the movements represented. He wrote me of this from Zurich and repeated it when he returned. He said that "notwithstanding the lack of numbers and prestige we have here, it looks as if the first Socialist Republic will be set up in the United States." But, as he commended those movements in the "Reform or Revolution" speech in Boston in 1896, he must have sometimes thought or hoped that he was mistaken. However, when Victor Funke translated "Reform or Revolution" into Swedish in 1903, De Leon heartily agreed with him that the course of conduct followed by the European movements had compelled a drastic revision of the reputations they formerly deserved, and that they had definitely turned from the straight and narrow path of Socialist philosophy and tactics, which revolutionary movements had to follow if the workers were not inevitably to meet with defeat and disaster.

Summers in Milford, Connecticut.

While De Leon was in Zurich, I, with Solon and Prima, who had made her bow in March, 1893, had spent the hot weeks of summer in Sag Harbor, Long Island, with the Comrades Langner, with whose family we still enjoy close relations. We were with them the next summer also, but by the summer of 1895 they had removed to Milford, Connecticut, and we



Daily People Building

2-6 New Reade Street, New York City

First Home of the *Daily People*, July 1, 1900-May 1, 1907

followed, upon their recommendation. They found us unfurnished rooms and we made most of our furniture out of packing boxes and orange crates. Our dining table was made from the crate that brought the show case to the Langners' new bakeshop. In our backyard was room for a garden, and I, born on a farm and loving the earth—and fresh vegetables—immediately began to plan a garden. De Leon as immediately began to enter strenuous objections. "The work is too hard for you." "You can find no time." "Gardening by an amateur will be expensive. Carrots will cost five cents each instead of five cents a bunch as at the market," etc., etc. I had many times remarked to De Leon, after an argument over differences, that he had an irritating habit of always being right, but this time I knew I was right, though I needed his admonition to keep an accurate account of the cost of seeds and tools, and had the satisfaction of proving by figures that I was right, for once at least. The first picking of every vegetable paid for the whole packet of the seed planted. We all enjoyed the garden. I enjoyed the outdoor work. Prima loved playing at gardening and Solon had his pranks. Looking out of the window one day I saw him and a neighborhood chum rolling on the grass in gales of laughter. In some way I sensed a joke on me and bided my time. A few days later beans came up in a flowerbed, and the secret was out. The boys had thought that, until the beans appeared, I would imagine that they were rare and wonderful flower plants. De Leon knew less than nothing about gardening but became interested as soon as our vegetables appeared on the table, and, as the years went by, became a very enthusiastic gardener, doing

much of the necessary work, and enjoying the exercise and recreation it afforded him.

Milford proved to be a very pleasant place with its beautiful village green shaded by huge old elms—almost destroyed, alas, by the hurricane of 1938. There is also an enchanting little river, spanned by two or three bridges, meandering through wide, sloping green banks and occasional old trees, down under Memorial Bridge to the harbor. On either side of the upper river is a white church, and lower down a lovely Colonial Town Hall is reflected in its waters. It all makes a charming, peaceful scene that follows one everywhere. The river is the Wepawang, named for the earliest inhabitants of Milford, the Wepawang Indians, who should rank above those of the Mayflower's passenger list as early Americans.

To all this was added a then uncrowded beach with good bathing. There was also good fishing—if you were a good fisherman. We shared a bathing house with the Langners, which was set high on stilts and furnished shelter from the sun. This made it possible to spend whole days at the beach, if weather and mosquitos permitted, which they often kindly did. The long days at the beach were pleasant and restful. The mothers mended, sewed, knit or read, and joined the fathers, when they could be there, in discussing Party affairs and the coming Socialist Republic, as they smoked and played with the children who were having the good times of all children at the beach. De Leon enjoyed swimming and the freedom from clothing, lounging all day in a bathing suit. He always stressed comfort in clothing. Even those who never saw him may have noticed in his pictures that his neck was dressed very unconventionally. In that benighted time there were no "don't starch" collars; they were all abominably stiff and high. One unusually warm night in summer, a hall in which he was speaking became very close and he felt as if his collar and tie were choking him. He took them off then and there and brought them home in his pocket, saying he would never wear the darn things again. I was startled and wondered what could be done about the matter, how his neck could be dressed somewhat presentably. However, the next morning, between us, we devised a substitute for the offending articles that looked fairly well. We folded a large white handkerchief diagonally, and pinned it to the neck of his shirt in such a manner that the V gave his throat the freedom and comfort he desired. Never again did he wear a collar and tie. Fortunately, his beard almost concealed the neckerchief and, apparently, it attracted little attention, though an over-officious headwaiter in a train once refused him, to his amusement, entrance to the

dining car because he wore no collar, and the headwaiter had to be reported to the conductor before De Leon could be seated at table.

"Dare to Be a Daniel."

I have always thought that I have a modern view of most of the circumstances of life, but I was old-fashioned enough to want to rock my children to sleep when it was becoming not modern and unwise to do so. I wanted to rock my babies to sleep as I had been rocked to sleep by my mother, with no discernible harm. I enjoyed it and so did the babies, so I rocked and sang all my children to sleep. As I had been a churchgoer and liked church music, I sang the familiar hymns and songs I had learned from my mother and father and those of my own generation, often having to laugh at De Leon's quips and jests about his "psalm-singing wife." But, after a while, in spite of his bantering, he came to like some of the songs I sang, liked both words and music. One set of words, in a song based on the Biblical story of Daniel's adventures and behavior in the lions' den he liked so much that it became as nearly a slogan as he ever had.

Dare to be a Daniel,
Dare to stand alone,
Dare to have a purpose firm,
Dare to make it known.

At that time there were many who imagined they sympathized with the Party and its program who wished to have the idea of Revolution soft-pedalled in order not to startle and alarm people who were apprehensive of new ideas. The notion that a movement should try to conceal its goal or intentions, in order to attract timorous people, or for any other reason, De Leon considered simply suicidal. He hammered at the folly of this course incessantly, as he was convinced that the Party's position on this point could hardly be made clear enough or too strongly emphasized. Believing that Ferdinand Lassalle's "Franz von Sickingen" told well the story of a classic example of the disastrous effects of a cowardly or dishonest position in a social movement, De Leon felt under compulsion to make the tragedy available to Party members and did the translation in 1904, using again in his preface the familiar phrases of the stirring Sunday school song.

Of course, there were never-ending skirmishes with the fakers. Some of the unions would occasionally ask the Party for a speaker to explain its position on the unions and their leaders. The fakers liked this not a bit and there were frequent rows in the

unions over the matter. One Saturday morning a neighbor brought in her morning paper, the leading yellow sheet of New York, to show me an article that interested her. When she went home she left the paper. I looked it over and came across a startling item. It told how the Socialist, De Leon, had incensed the members of a certain union by his attack on union leaders, and that the union members had summarily thrown out and beaten him. Knowing the temper of the union leaders, their control of the unions and their hatred of the Socialists, I was very much disturbed and sent a telegram of inquiry to the National Office. A few hours later I was informed that the telegram could not be delivered. We were never able to learn the reason. By this hour it was time for De Leon's train, and the children and I went to the station. He did not arrive until the second section came, but then stepped off the train looking very much unbeaten. "Why should you have worried?" said De Leon. "Don't you think I would be very good at taking care of myself in such a situation?"

Naturally, since the politico-economic field was in such turmoil and confusion, the Socialist Labor Party, still young and inexperienced enough to admit to membership any who professed to be "Socialist," suffered from a penetration of the motley elements that for ten years were a millstone hanging on the neck of the Party. These were the elements that, unused to discipline, were surprised and enraged that in the shelter of the Party fold and under the Party banner they could not spout any nonsensical reform stuff they happened at the moment to be interested in, and call it Socialism. These were the elements that could not be made to understand the real meaning of a Revolutionary movement and the necessity for a Party-owned press. These were the elements that showered the "bouquets" upon De Leon when he insisted upon facts, facts and more facts. These were the elements that thought it not dishonorable to use the labor movement in general and the Party in particular to further their own economic interests. These were the elements that would have made of the Socialist Labor Party the thing that the Socialist party is, a "rope of sand," a party afraid to say "The Workshops to the Workers," "Capitalism Must Be Destroyed." (Perhaps this is a mistake; perhaps the Socialist party doesn't want capitalism to be destroyed!) These were the elements that, since they were absolutely unable to become bona fide Socialists, split off in the Kangaroo episode in 1899, and the Kanglet affair in 1901-02, to the lasting benefit of the Party.

As the seasons and years came and went, the

tapestry of our lives was woven of things significant and insignificant; the little things that are such trifles compared with things eternal, but so important to the individual at the moment of occurrence. The long summer days in the setting of old trees, the shining, rippling river, long sunny hours at the beach; the arrival of Secundus in 1896 and of Tercera exactly two years later, a pair soon to be reckoned with; Solon learning to swim, Prima learning to read, news of the progress of Party affairs, a baby's new tooth, a baby taking a first step, the success of the garden, all were parts of the pattern. In New York there were woven in trips to the Parks, visits to the Zoo to see the animal friend of each child, particularly in the monkey cage, kindergarten, school, Party news, good and not so good, days at the museums of Art and Natural History, the Aquarium and Battery Park, junior membership cards in the neighborhood libraries, the annual Thanksgiving affairs, occasional and much cherished visits to "papa's office," sleigh rides, and that greatest of all events, Christmas and the Christmas tree!

The Turn of the Century.

The Gay Nineties have been described more fully, perhaps, than any other period of our social history, but I am sure that a New Yorker of today set down in the New York of that time would be surprised and amused. It is a long road back to that older New York, measured by the calendar and longer yet measured by commonplace everyday customs and things. Our children saw the lamplighter making his evening rounds, and rode in horse-cars to the boat that we took to Milford. It was a very different New York from that of today, but the older New Yorker, knowing no other, liked it; and we took what we could of what it had to give us. Added to music and art and library facilities were the intensified activities of the Party, important meetings, speeches and articles on Party affairs, the internal dissension in the Party, and, in the later years of the decade, discussion and plans for the projected *Daily People*, hailed by all. The opportunist dissension in the Party was part of the pattern, but affected it surprisingly little. De Leon wrote many of his editorials on the subject at home, and I knew, day by day, all that was going on, but the matter had much the effect of a storm. The wind whistles wildly around the eaves and dashes rain or snow against the windows but does not ill affect the scene within; it does not diminish, but intensifies, the enjoyment of the comfort and cheer of the fireside and lamplight, and the music of children's voices.

We reached 1900!

The children, upon their urgent requests, were awakened to join us in drinking, in grape juice, to the happiness of the new century and the Little New Year. What would the new century bring!

What would the century bring to this weary, war-

engulfed capitalist world, so clearly foreseen and told by the Socialist Labor Party and the *Weekly People* for fifty years. Let us hope that long before the century passes, that which we strive for, the Socialist Industrial Republic, will have arisen, with "healing in its wings."

Daniel De Leon As a Campaigner

De Leon's ability as a public speaker was as great as his ability as a writer. Trained for the lecture platforms of the universities, he presented the message of Socialism from one end of America to another from both the street-corner "soap-box" and the auditorium stage.

His first tour for the Party was undertaken in 1891. It injected a new note in Socialist agitation that quickly transformed the Party. Unfortunately, most Socialist speakers of the time were long on sentiment and words and short on logic and facts. The example of De Leon's mastery of his subject spurred the other speakers of the Party to attain a similar degree of mastery of the Marxian science that alone could lead the American workers to Socialism.

The same year (1891) De Leon demonstrated that his campaigning was as vigorous as his organizing. Nominated for Governor of New York State, he convinced more than 13,000 workers that the Socialist Labor Party was *their* party, a feat that had never been accomplished before.

His greatest campaigns, however, were for offices of less prestige. The 1897 campaign in the Sixteenth Assembly District of New York City is still remembered by the "old-timers" as one of the greatest of all time. Under his tutelage, many of the Party's most effective speakers received their training on the street corners of this district, as he went from one meeting to another.

Organizer, campaigner, lecturer, De Leon soon became a debater of the first rank. His first prominent victim was Job Harriman, a supporter of the A. F. of L. type of capitalist unionism. The subject-title, "The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance versus the Pure and Simple Trade Union," attracted an audience that filled the Grand Opera House of New Haven. More prominent victims of his debating skill were the Attorney General of New York State, Thomas F. Carmody (who is said to have broken

out in tears at his inability to meet De Leon's facts and logic), and the ex-State Treasurer of Pennsylvania, William H. Berry (whose cure-all for the ills of capitalism was the "trust-busting" that De Leon proved unworkable).

In parliamentary debate, too, De Leon proved himself without a master in the American labor movement. Time after time, when crackpots and more deliberate saboteurs attempted to disrupt the Party, De Leon showed a knowledge of Socialist principles and parliamentary procedure that entrapped the disrupters in their own plots. The minutes of meetings at which he took a prominent part, notably the first and second conventions of the Industrial Workers of the World, could easily serve as textbooks in the parliamentary application of Marxian tactics.

A public speaker because of the need to agitate, educate and organize for Socialism, De Leon was no prima donna deliberately playing to the galleries. More than one observer, within and without the Party, has noted his impatience with applause and hero worship. With him, they agreed it was what he said that counted, not the applause he received.

— John Timm.

Reproduction of Socialist Labor Party Campaign Poster

Used in De Leon's campaign in the Sixteenth Assembly District, New York, in 1897. The capitalist candidates included the notorious Republican ward-heeler, and later leader of the "anti-Tammany forces," Sam Koenig. By actual admission of the official watchers, De Leon gave Mr. Koenig an unmerciful beating. "Officially," the Tammany candidate "beat" De Leon, though it was well recognized that when a Tammany candidate "won" by the slim margin counted over De Leon, the counting of votes was more dishonest than usual.

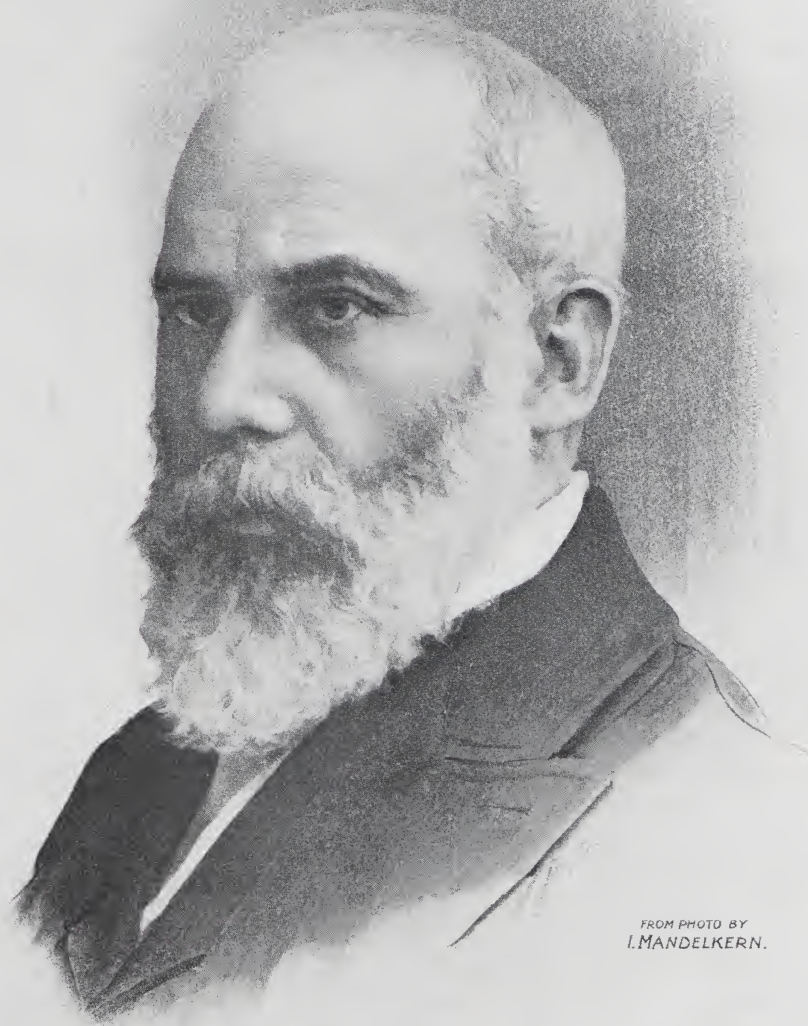
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

VOTE UNDER



THIS EMBLEM

16TH ASSEMBLY DIST.



FROM PHOTO BY
I. MANDELKERN.

FOR ASSEMBLY

DANIEL DE LEON



The Socialist Labor Party and the Internationals

By Eric Hass

THE spirit of internationalism among the toilers of the world is not dead. It cannot die. It lives despite the stupendous efforts of ruling classes of all countries to implant in their subjects the baneful spirit of nationalism. It lives because the conditions which gave it birth, which first inspired the dream of a brotherhood of man, are present and cannot be eradicated. Capitalism is international. Mutual conflicts between capitalist producing States and economic antagonisms inseparable from capitalism seem to belie this. As long as these conditions survive, they do indeed frustrate any real and lasting international fraternity. But even as economic antagonisms between ruling classes developed and fanned the flames of international enmities, capitalism blazed and cut a way for internationalism, an internationalism that will one day effloresce in the International Socialist Republic of Labor.

It was the bourgeoisie who battered down the provincialism of the Middle Ages. In the picturesque language of the "Communist Manifesto":

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

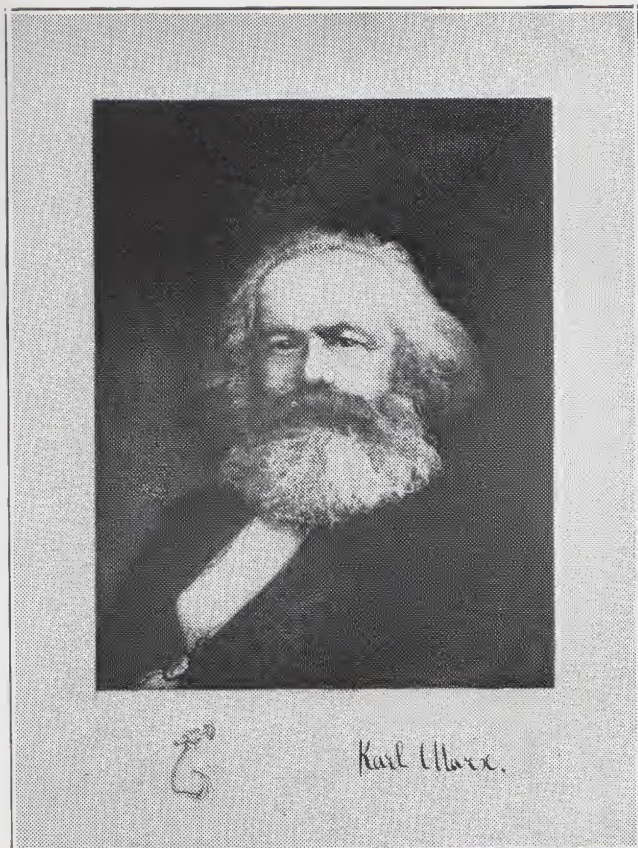
"The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world's market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To

the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones, industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature.

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on

pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."

While the capitalists thus penetrate the further-



Karl Marx

Founder of scientific Socialism and leading spirit of the First International.

most portions of the globe, they endeavor to enclose their respective working classes within the confines of narrow nationalism in order to preserve dominion over them. But the struggle between the exploiters and the exploited, like a taunting shadow, pursues capitalism everywhere, awakening the workers to a lively consciousness of their common interests and immunizing them to jingoistic appeals.

Many factors tend to transform the instinctive internationalism of the working class into conscious internationalism. Paradoxically, one of these is war in which capitalist nationalism finds its highest expression. For while war, at its inception, may be the means of engendering chauvinism, its horrors, impinging with special violence on the workers, arouse in them first resentment, then rebellious oppo-

sition to war and to the ruling class responsible for it. Rapidly it dawns upon the workers of each belligerent nation that their "foe," the working class aligned against them, is also the victim of ruling class chicanery. Across the scarred battlefields an invisible bond connects the struggle each working class must conduct against its own despoilers, betokening the fraternization of a new day.

The final disillusionment comes when ruling classes unite against the threat of proletarian revolution. After the experience of the Paris Commune seventy years ago, when all the European Governments attested to the international character of class rule by uniting to suppress it, Marx wrote: "Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national Governments are *one* against the proletariat!"

To say that instinctive, or even conscious, internationalism among the workers was entirely responsible for their attempts to form international organizations, however, fails to tell the whole story. The International Workingmen's Association, the first international to have a distinct proletarian character,¹ for example, was inspired in some degree at least by the immediate material interests of the British trade unions. The threat of imported labor from less advanced industrial nations on the Continent, used by British employers to discourage strikes and demoralize strikers, could be met, British workers believed, only by dissuading their fellow workers on the other side of the Channel. The conditions of their daily struggle thus gave impetus to the desire on the part of British workers to share their experience and join their efforts with the workers elsewhere.

Founding of the First International.

It is not our purpose to attempt a history of this first great conscious attempt to conjoin the international struggle of the proletariat, or to trace all the preliminary events and inspirational forces which culminated in that historic mass meeting at St. Martin's Hall, London, September 28, 1864. It is a later drama with which we are primarily concerned, a drama which was to open just before the founding in America of the Socialist Labor Party. But salient features of the International Workingmen's Associ-

¹The Communist League, though international in character, and accepting the principles of Socialist internationalism, was not an "international," in the sense in which that term is now understood. Engels described the Communist League as "a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society."

ation are nonetheless essential as a backdrop before which subsequent history moved.

Marx was on the platform at the St. Martin's Hall meeting, but he took no active part and the newspapers failed to report his presence. Nevertheless, he was its guiding spirit. It was Marx who wrote the celebrated "Inaugural Address" and "Provisional Rules." They were not couched in the bold, challenging language of the "Communist Manifesto." "Time is necessary," Marx wrote to Engels, "before the revived movement can permit itself the old audacious language. The need of the moment is: bold in matter, but mild in manner." But the "Address" and the "Provisional Rules" got the organization off on a scientific basis. The "Address" traced a decade and a half of European history with special emphasis on the defeats of the working class. These were due to lack of solidarity, program and common aims. "To conquer political power has therefore become a great duty of the working class," it declared. "...One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance if united in combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts." The "Address" concluded with the injunction: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" Here, in a few words, the reasons for the founding of the International Workmen's Association were set forth.

The Preamble to the "Provisional Rules" charged that "the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence." The economic emancipation of the working class "is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate." Its opening passage set forth the essence of the class struggle: "...the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." Thus collaboration with radical bourgeois, the shoal upon which so many working class attempts at self-improvement and emancipation have foundered, was averted at the outset.

The International, wrote Marx's biographer, Franz Mehring, was "neither an insignificant shadow nor a terrible menace, as it was described alternately by the fantasy of the capitalist ink-slingers." But its influence upon the contemporary history and the pro-

letarian struggle was nonetheless great. When it was finally disbanded, Engels wrote to Sorge, its last General Secretary: "For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—and can look back upon its work with pride."



Friedrich Engels

Co-worker of Karl Marx, Engels lived to aid in launching the Second International. In his report to the Copenhagen Congress in 1910, De Leon refers to a conversation he held with Engels on a steamer which took the delegates to the Zurich Congress (1893) to the island of Ufenau.

This was true notwithstanding the almost continuous struggle within the International against the anarchists, reformers, sects and "amateurish endeavors" which attempted to "bore from within" and oppose the scientific Socialist movement. Indeed, because of this struggle, a struggle in which Marx took a leading part, Socialist theory and tactics were clarified. Especially was this true of the political aspect of the movement under ceaseless attack from the Bakuninists (Anarchists). But each attack only elicited new clarifications, new proof that, in the language of Marx:

"One day the working class must hold political power in its hands in order to establish a new organization of labor; it must overthrow the old political system which maintains the old institutions in being, unless it wishes, like the early Christians who de-

II.

The Socialist Labor Party was four years old when the Chur Congress met. It sent as its delegate one McGuire, General Secretary of the United

Brotherhood of Carpenters. McGuire took no report with him to the Congress, and, so far as the records reveal, brought none home other than the manifesto recording the decision to postpone the founding of a permanent Socialist international.

When the International was finally resurrected as the Second International, "inevitable development" did indeed insure an improved composition, and, in a limited sense, an improved form. As the Russian historian, G. M. Stekloff, notes in his comprehensive "History of the First International":

"The First International contained the rudiments of all three of the fundamental trends of the contemporary international working class movement; revolutionary communism [i.e., scientific Socialism]; the moderate socialism or the class-collaborationists; and anarchism. . . . The Second International embodied only two of the trends, the revolutionary communist and the moderate socialist or class-collaborationist; for the anarchists were quite outside the framework of this new body."

*The S.L.P. and the Founding of a
Second International.*

The two irreconcilable trends were subsequently to wrack the Second International with incessant conflict, but at the Founding Congress which met in Paris from July 14 to 21, 1889, simultaneously with the Paris Centennial, mutual antagonism was eclipsed by the high hopes and boundless enthusiasm of the delegates. It was at this Congress that the Socialist Labor Party, or rather, the Socialist Labor Party, made its debut on the international Socialist scene.

J. F. Busche was its delegate. He was accompanied by J. E. Miller, representing the United Jewish Trade Unions of New York. In one of Busche's reports, published in the *Workmen's Advocate*, August 24, 1889, he explains apologetically that he "arrived at the place of meeting two days late. . . . Some slight defect caused an inadequate supply of steam, and the speed of the vessel [he sailed on] was thereby lessened. . . ." Another delay was occasioned by his attendance at "another congress by mistake."!

The other congress called itself the "Possibilist Congress" after the Possibilist Party of France (Parti Ouvrier). By implication the Socialist, or Marxist, congress was, in its estimation, "impossibilist."¹ The S.L.P. had received invitations to both

congresses and these had been printed in full in the *Workmen's Advocate* (June 15, 1889). The "Possibilists" transmitted their appeal through a manifesto issued by the Social-Democratic Federation of England. The manifesto assured the S.L.P. that it was the biggest and represented the most "successful" parties. It did not convey, however, that their "successes" were achieved by adorning bourgeois programs with "socialist" phrases. The rival congress, it said, was the work of designing men who met in caucus at The Hague.

"The chief promoters of The Hague Caucus and of the rival Congress in Paris," it said, "are Lafargue, Guesde, Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling (whose sister, a daughter of Karl Marx, Lafargue married), Bernstein (editor of the *Sozial Demokrat*), Bebel and Liebknecht. Friedrich Engels is in full accord with their proceedings."

The manifesto closed with the appeal:

"Comrades and fellow citizens, the facts are before you. It is for you to see to it that your cause, the cause of the workers of the world, is not deliberately injured by those who should be the first to suppress their personal jealousies for the sake of Socialism."

How familiar *this* argument is! Totally unable to discern any issue of principle, completely absorbed in their own ambitious designs, frustration alone could explain to them the conduct of their adversaries.

By contrast, the invitation to the International Socialist Workingmen's Congress wholly ignored the "Possibilists." It set forth the proposed agenda simply and asked that it be studied. "We invite the Socialist and workingmen's organizations of Europe and America to this Congress," it said, "which will lay the foundations of the union of the workers and the Socialists of both hemispheres."

Somewhat perturbed by this division, the *Workmen's Advocate* suggested that the two congresses might "amalgamate." "It might be well, in view of the circumstances, for organizations to provide their delegates with credentials to both congresses. . . ." it advised. Evidently this advice was unheeded, however, for the S.L.P. delegate attended the Possibilist congress "by mistake."

Considerable sentiment prevailed at the "Marxist" congress (which the S.L.P. delegate shared) to combine the two congresses, but when an invitation was despatched to the Possibilists (and happily rejected), it vanished.

The American delegation appeared to be unawed by illustrious names. This is not to imply that they

¹The designations "possibilism" and "impossibilism" are not unfamiliar to the American movement. Here, some years later, the accent was placed on the alleged "impossibilism" of the S.L.P. by the "possibilist" (and decidedly opportunistic) Socialist party.

evinced any lack of respect or admiration for the intellectual attainments or integrity of those whose activities in the European movement had raised them to international prominence. But America was already high above most European nations in its industrial development and, above all, in its political development. Moreover, the class struggle in America was unclouded by feudal influences which lingered in Europe and which compelled the movement there to divert its strength and do the work the bourgeois revolutions left uncompleted. It was for this reason, and not because of any inflated conception of their own intellectual endowments, that the American delegates looked askance upon the indirect language of certain resolutions adopted by the Congress and thought their own direct, outspoken resolutions superior.

Genesis of May Day.

But there was no doubt concerning their hearty concurrence with the resolution calling upon workers throughout the world to demonstrate for an eight-hour day on the First of May, and, simultaneously, to demonstrate their international solidarity. Some confusion has arisen over the origin of this historic resolution. It is believed that Boris Reinstein, renegade Socialist Labor Party man who (if still alive) is today a clerk in a Soviet governmental department, was present at the Paris Congress. This we are unable to confirm. But in his pamphlet, "International May Day and American Labor Day," Reinstein says: "May Day was created by a resolution adopted, upon the initiative of American Socialists...." The language of the resolution would seem to confirm this, for it includes a reference to the American Federation of Labor which had "decided to hold such a demonstration on May 2 [sic], 1890."

However, in the *Workmen's Advocate*, August 17, it is reported that the resolution was introduced by "Delegate Lavigne of Bordeaux (submitted at the request of the French National Federation of Labor and Trades Organizations)." Again, in the issue of August 24, under the heading, "Incidents of the Congress," the following paragraph appears:

"One of the French delegates circulated a set of resolutions to the effect that all labor organizations throughout the world be recommended to make a grand eight-hour demonstration and demand on the first of May, 1890. The signatures were secured and the resolution passed."

That the American delegates helped to frame the resolution is a logical assumption in view of the distinctly American reference, possibly they aided in getting the required signatures, but this does not seem to justify the language held by Reinstein.

The reports sent to the *Workmen's Advocate* by Busche convey little information of real importance, especially when they are compared to the graphic and detailed despatches of Lucien Sanial and Daniel De Leon reporting subsequent congresses. Their interest is largely due to the impressions they convey of this historic Founding Congress. Busche, for example, describes in some detail a reception extended to the delegates by the municipality of Paris at the Hotel de Ville: "We were received at the head of the grand staircase by Comrades Vaillant, Longuet and others of the Municipal Council, and were ushered into the brilliantly lighted halls of this most palatial edifice, the like of which I have never seen." Impressed as he was, Busche was far from dazzled. In the same despatch he writes:

"But, after all, comrades, I feel an irresistible impulse and desire to go to work for our glorious cause



in fair America, which I deem more than ever the hope of all nations, the place where Socialism will grow and spread its benign influence and power over all lands. Let there be friendly emulation between the Socialists of all countries. We shall 'get there,' I am sure; but I think America, with its rapidly developing capitalist system, stands a good chance of 'getting there' first, backed by wise tactics of American Socialists."

In October, 1889, the S.L.P. met in national convention and formally endorsed the resolutions adopted at Paris. It was now a full-fledged member of the international Socialist family.

*Ignorance of European Socialists on
Affairs American.*

The Socialist Labor Party's experience in the Second International was not altogether a happy one. Europe, as we have said, mirrored America's industrial and political past and the European Socialist movement logically reflected these backward conditions. Yet, so preoccupied were the European parties with their immediate problems, and sometimes with their own imagined importance and exaggerated superiority in the realm of "practical" Socialist politics, that the information conveyed to the Congresses by S.L.P. delegates was more often than not treated with condescension or disdain. Even foremost European Marxian scholars seemed utterly incapable of understanding the significance of the higher point of vantage enjoyed by the S.L.P., or of grasping how this vantage point made it possible for the S.L.P. to espy pitfalls concealed to them.

On the other hand, membership in the Second International, precisely because its policies were dominated by Socialists from nations industrially and politically undeveloped, yielded little that was aidful to the movement in America.

"... I must tell you," said De Leon when the question of instructing the S.L.P. delegate to the second Paris Congress [Lucien Sanial] was before the 1900 Party Convention, "that no amount of speeches to be made there, no amount of writings you can write upon the subject, can educate those people upon America."

To support this allegation De Leon recalled several nonsensical statements printed in European Socialist publications and uttered with reckless abandon by European Socialists of considerable reputation. "A little magazine called *Le Mouvement Socialiste* ... announced that there was in the United States a tremendous Socialist movement; it was the great

and grand American Federation of Labor, led by that great Socialist, Sam Gompers. In Germany, in *Die Neue Zeit*, run by Karl Kautsky, there was an article written by a German in Indianapolis, Rappaport. Rappaport had just written a pamphlet for McKinley in the campaign of 1896! ... his article



William Morris
speaking from
a wagon in Hyde
Park, May 1 1894

was ... written to show that there was no Socialist Labor Party in the United States. And that thing was printed, and, when objection was raised, they told us: 'Oh, well, we know this comrade and he is a very good comrade.' " Even the noble and uncompromising William Liebknecht ventured to speak with "authority" on the basis of misinformation sent him by "good comrades" in the United States. In a conversation with an S.L.P. member he said: "I have made inquiries and I find that all the charges made by the Socialist Labor Party against Debs are wrong." With certain notable exceptions the years failed to enlighten European Socialist leaders on affairs American. Theirs was a cultivated ignorance on matters American. Years later, at the Congress at Stuttgart (1907) an S.L.P. delegate was approached and asked if there were "any prominent American Socialists in the American delegation — Mr. Gompers, for instance?"!!!

There was abundant evidence in the several International Socialist Congresses of the theoretic backwardness of the European Socialist movements when compared to the clip and clear principles of the Marxian S.L.P. Indeed, so loose and lax was their conduct at times and so utterly without justification on Socialist grounds were their actions that it is difficult for contemporary De Leonists to understand

why the Party remained so long affiliated. The Party did consider withdrawing in 1903, but the resolution to sever connections with the International was defeated when submitted to a referendum vote. There was one lone *reason* for maintaining this relationship and it prevailed. That was the pure sentiment of internationalism, the feeling that to sever our ties with the International would be, in a sense, a repudiation of this sentiment. It is significant that De Leon, whose integrity and internationalism were never questioned, favored the resolution to withdraw.

The Sentiment of Internationalism.

Discussing the merit of Socialist International Congresses at the Tenth National Convention of the S.L.P. in 1900, De Leon described them as "essentially peace manifestations . . . intended to warn the capitalist governments of Europe . . . that their armies, however well disciplined and managed, may not respond to the order, in case of war, as enthusiastically as they did when there were no Socialists among them."

"I can understand," said De Leon, "how, in a continent that is barely as large as the whole United States, and consists of about sixteen nations, perpetually within an inch of one another's throats, such a convention has a practical significance . . . however negative. For the rest, as to the international features that attract Socialists so much, I do not see that any such conventions are necessary any more than conventions of capitalists to establish the fact that capitalism is, and must be, and cannot be otherwise than international. Capitalism is international, and so is Socialism to be, and Socialism would not be international if capitalism were not. It is only in proportion as it becomes international capitalism that Socialism becomes so. In this view, the congress is a matter of sentiment, and it is properly a matter of sentiment. I am not of those who would make out of man an artificial being apart from the feelings. The Social Revolution is expected to be the culminating revolution of the human race. It is perfectly just that all nations should indicate by some tangible demonstration that they are brothers. Were it not for that, I would at previous occasions have moved to save the Party the money, the time and, I must say, the delegate the annoyance of sitting in one of these conventions."

Again, as though to underscore the lone reason for S.L.P. affiliation with the International, De Leon said:

"I do not believe it matters much to us whether

we are there represented or not, but . . . I would rather not have it appear that the Socialist Labor Party is disconnected from the international movement—that sentimental feeling. . . ."

For the first time since the founding of both the Socialist Labor Party and the Second International, the Party's claim of representing exclusively the Socialist movement in America was to be challenged at the Paris Congress (1900). The Kangaroos¹, having hastily united their scattered forces with Debs's utopian followers in the West, had let it be known that they, too, planned to send a delegation to the Paris Congress. Some delegates to the S.L.P. Convention believed that if the Kangaroo delegation was seated by the International Congress, the S.L.P. should withdraw. Others favored an amendment to the motion for withdrawal, demanding of the International Congress the "privilege of sitting apart from such impure delegations, to which a seat could not be granted if our European comrades understood the situation in America." The amendment prevailed and Sanial accordingly demanded and received the consent of the Congress to sit apart.

Thus began a long, sometimes amusing, sometimes tragic, struggle between the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist party beyond the boundaries of the United States in the International movement, a struggle we shall return to in a subsequent chapter. The disgust evidenced by many S.L.P. members for the International was provoked not only by the perversity exhibited by European parties toward the American movement. They were also profoundly disturbed by the unmistakable anti-Marxism and giddy opportunism revealed by the alarming conduct of some of the most prominent affiliates of the International both in and out of the Congresses. By this time the S.L.P. had had considerable experience with the International. Besides sending delegates to the Founding Congress at Paris, it had sent delegations to the congresses at Brussels in 1891 (Sanial), Zurich in 1893 (De Leon and Sanial, the latter officially representing the Central Labor Federations of New York and Brooklyn), and London in 1896 (Matthew Maguire and Sanial, the latter representing the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance). Moreover, the contacts which had been made with outstanding leaders of the European Socialist movement, resulting in exchange of official newspa-

¹In 1899 there occurred a split in the Socialist Labor Party over the immediate question of ownership of the Party press. The crowd of stockholders and followers of the Volkszeitung Corporation which attempted to usurp the name and functions of the Socialist Labor Party were called "Kangaroos." For the derivation of this designation, see "Daniel De Leon—a Symposium."

pers and correspondence, had kept the S.L.P. fully apprised of the trends and events there. We shall confine ourselves here to but two of the questions which aroused apprehension in the S.L.P. The first was a tragi-comedy, amusing in itself, but one which sheds abundant light on the malignant cross-currents that subsequently diverted European Socialism into the swamps of opportunism and social patriotism. The second was an event of well-nigh catastrophic proportions which convulsed the entire International movement for more than four years.

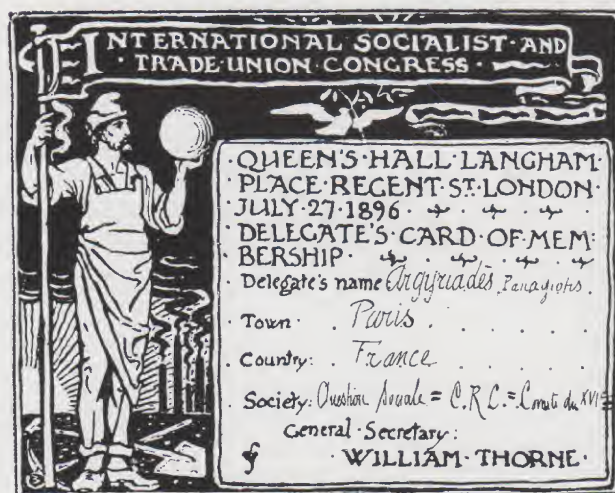
A Tragi-Comedy in London.

The tragi-comedy was enacted at the London Congress of 1896. For some unknown reason the rules of this Congress provided that each delegation should pass on its own credentials, subject to appeal to the Congress. Besides Sanial and McGuire in the American delegation there were Arthur Keep, an S.L.P. member representing the Washington (D.C.) Federation of Labor; Arthur F. Bechtold, of the Brewers' National Union; and Mrs. Charlotte P. Stetson, of the Alameda (California) Federation of Trades. It will be noted here that the International did not exclude representatives of organizations which occupied much of their time assailing Socialism. But the admission of "pure and simple" union delegates appears almost a virtuous act compared to the one which subsequently caused the S.L.P. and S.T. & L.A. delegates to throw up their hands in despair.

In addition to those already named, there were two more Americans in London in possession of the provisional cards of admission issued by the arrangement committee. They represented (of all things) a New York hack owners' association! The S.L.P. delegates were stunned by this impudence, but not the duo of "pure and simplers." These professed to see "no harm" in admitting representatives of an employers' organization to a Socialist Congress, and were, indeed, amazed at the "intolerance" of Sanial and McGuire! In reporting the incident to *The People*, Sanial wrote of Mrs. Stetson who voted with Bechtold to admit the hack owners' delegates that she "claimed for herself the right 'to do good' wherever she pleased, whether it was on a Socialist, Democratic, Republican or Populist platform"!

Outrageous though the offense was, its enormity was heightened by the "hacks'" vulgar and insolent conduct at the delegation's meeting. The American delegation had before it a resolution passed at the Zurich Congress on the exclusion of anarchists. "When McGuire took the vote of the American

delegation upon the Zurich resolution," reported Sanial, "Winston [one of the hack owners' delegates] turned to us and said, viciously, 'If you admit us you can put us down for the resolution; but, if you don't, count us one against it.'" The resolution carried with the American delegation, but when it



Delegate's Card to the International Socialist Congress, London, 1896

It was designed by the Socialist artist, Walter Crane, who also designed the charters for the Socialist Labor Party.

reported "aye" to the Congress "the hack rose and protested vehemently; which at once won for him the anarchists and all their supporters in the British delegation."

In accordance with the rules, the "hacks" were privileged to carry their case before the Congress, which they did when the American delegation reported. Winston argued with a brazen impudence (with which Sanial and McGuire were now familiar) that "the principle of his association was thoroughly Socialistic; for its members 'employed union men and paid union wages.'" "Singular to say," Sanial drily commented, "nobody laughed."

Sanial replied by recounting to the Congress what had transpired with reference to the Zurich resolution at the meeting of the American delegation. "Here, somewhat to my astonishment," he wrote to *The People*, "the well-known Fabian mouthpiece, Bernard Shaw, asked the chairman to rule upon the question, whether the fact that a delegate belonged to the middle class was a fatal bar to his admission."! The chairman of the Congress, however, ignored Shaw's clownish sophistry, and quickly put the question of the hack owners' admission to a vote by a show of hands. Wrote Sanial: "And such a show

of hands you never saw—and I hope will never see again—at a bona fide labor congress. Here were together, raised in sweet sympathy, the hairy paw of anarchism, the dainty fingers of Fabianism, and the horny hand of Pure and Simplism.” Bechtold and Mrs. Stetson voted to admit the “hacks,” but “the Socialists, chiefly in other nationalities than the British, did not seem to understand at all the question” and few voted. Thus the world was treated to the amazing spectacle of a Socialist Congress, ostensibly concerned with the question of overthrowing bourgeois rule, admitting to active participation in its councils two unprincipled representatives of the bourgeois foe!

A fillip to this affair occurred when the “hacks” voted against the admission of the anarchists to whom they were largely indebted for their seats in the Congress. A French lady anarchist, incensed by their action, sent Winston a note in French which he asked Sanial to translate. It read: “I consider it an indignity that a man indebted for his admission to the tolerance of the Congress should vote for the exclusion of other men, infinitely better entitled than he is to a seat at the council of labor.” The “hack” winced and sent a verbal reply via Sanial which Sanial “transmitted faithfully.” The reply was that “he [Winston] did not know he had voted for the exclusion of anybody; he had not understood the question and did not know what he was voting for.”! The following day Winston fell asleep and “no uproar could wake him up until the time of adjournment had come.”

*

The Battle Against Millerandism.

Looking backward, the Socialist Labor Party may feel a justifiable pride in its conduct as an affiliate of the Second International. The most searching examination of the record fails to reveal a single instance in which it retreated from the line of the class struggle, or when it dipped its colors or compromised with the philistine elements within the International.

Nor were S.L.P. delegations at the International Congresses mugwumps who, for reasons of policy or indecision, refrained from taking definite positions on fundamental issues. There was an aggressive assurance about their conduct, which more than once brought credit to the Party, and recognition from uncompromising European Marxists who fought opportunism in their parties. And never was this demonstrated more dramatically than at the Paris and Amsterdam Congresses in 1900 and 1904, where the infamous Kautsky resolution, presupposing “the possibility of impartiality on the part of ruling class governments in the conflicts between the working class

and the capitalist class,” was adopted and, in effect, rescinded.

The Kautsky resolution was the climax of a *cause celebre* that had wracked and split the French Socialist movement, the acceptance by the “socialist” Millerand of a portfolio in the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry where he sat cheek by jowl with Galliffet, the butcher of the Paris Commune.¹ Not only had Millerand violated the fundamental principle without which Socialism becomes a cruel hoax on the workers, to wit, the principle that the “working class must achieve emancipation through its own classconscious efforts,” but he had, by remaining in the Cabinet, accepted responsibility for the cold-blooded slaughter of striking workers at Martinique and Chalon. These murderous attacks by French troops had been either authorized or ordered by the Cabinet, and, although Millerand may not have directly participated, his culpability was beyond question. As De Leon pointed out in a *Daily People* editorial on Millerandism (October 22, 1900): “The theory of ‘Cabinet Government’ is that the collective act of the Cabinet is the individual act of all its members, and that the individual act of any one member is the act of all. The Cabinet Minister who refuses to shoulder responsibility for any act of his colleagues resigns; if he does not resign, he approves.”

Millerand did not resign. Instead, he went around the country denouncing the class struggle as inhuman and falsely imputing to it the fatuous doctrine of “class hatred.” “Love, not hatred,” he said, “will emancipate the working class.” Naturally, the capitalists were delighted with this breaking off of the point of the class struggle and thought they had at last discovered an effective strategy to defeat Socialism. Marcel Miéville, described as “a cool-headed bourgeois,” put it in these words:

“A Socialist who consents to administer the fortunes of a bourgeois State is no longer a danger to such a State. He may force it to consent to some reforms, the most indispensable and pressing. He thereby pacifies the opinion that elected him; weakens the anger and force of the demands of the masses. Accordingly, it is profitable to confiscate for the benefit of [bourgeois] society the most intelligent and ardent leaders of the opposition. To call them to power is a sort of honorable way of placating them.”

The Millerand affair raised the question of So-

¹The portfolio Millerand was given by the cagy French bourgeois was that of Minister of Commerce which had more patronage to give away than any of the others. The corrupting influences of such a post are implicit in the fact that the Ministry of Commerce controlled the post office, for instance, with its 100,000 places, and the “bureau de Tabac” with its 200,000.



The International Socialist Congress, Paris, 1900

This sketch appeared in *L'Illustration*. Jules Guesde, the most prominent foe of Juarezism in France, is speaking.

cialist participation in bourgeois governments before the Paris Congress of the International. Two resolutions were introduced, one by Guesde of the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste (Socialist Labor party), and one by Karl Kautsky of the German Social-Democratic party. The Guesde resolution demanded that "Under a capitalist regime . . . Socialists should occupy those positions only which are elective, that is, those positions only which their party can conquer with its own forces by the action of the workers organized into a class party; and this necessarily forbids all Socialist participation in capitalist government against which Socialists must preserve an attitude of uncompromising opposition."

The Kautsky resolution, which later was referred to wittily as the "Kaouchouc (india rubber) resolution," because of the conflicting constructions put upon it, was artfully evasive, but implicitly presupposed impartiality on the part of capitalist governments "in the struggle between capital and labor."

S.L.P. Takes Its Stand on the Class Struggle.

The Socialist Labor Party delegation of six, which was headed by Lucien Sanial, included E. Arnaelsteen. Arnaelsteen it was who first opposed the Kautsky resolution and spoke for the Guesde resolution in "concise and unmistakable language." It was before the Ninth Commission, the committee to which both resolutions were referred. On the commission sat most of the celebrated figures of the international Socialist movement. P. Kretlow, an S.L.P. delegate who substituted for Sanial on the Ninth Commission while Sanial was occupied on the commission of trusts, reported in detail on the reception accorded Arnaelsteen's reasoned address. "...those 'great, wise men' of the international movement did not think it worth their while to listen to our comrade who was not yet a leading light, and Jaures, Auer and Adler began to entertain each other so audibly that Arnaelsteen stopped speaking, saying to

the chairman that he would wait till these gentlemen got through. Jaures tried to excuse himself by saying he was translating Arnaelsteen's speech to Auer, which was false." The rebuke had its effect and Arnaelsteen thereupon concluded his remarks.

At this moment, Kretlow reports, Sanial arrived and registered to speak. Discussing the incident in an address delivered in Arlington Hall, New York, shortly after returning from Paris, Sanial said:

"In the Ninth Commission, when this resolution the [Kautsky resolution] was read, I looked as if I wondered whether I stood on my head and saw all things inverted. The silence was deep while I said: 'Comrades, I never expected such a production from one supposed to be a veteran exponent of scientific Socialism. It was with profound sorrow that we in America heard of the acceptance of a portfolio by Millerand, but it would have been with a sorrow far deeper still that we would have heard of his acceptance with the sanction of the Socialist party of France. If this resolution is adopted, a cry of indignation will rise from the Atlantic to the Pacific among our militants, and a corresponding cry of derision will rise from our capitalist parties. If it is permissible for a prominent member of a Socialist party to accept a high position in a capitalist government, why should it not be permissible for the humbler ones to accept lower offices under the same circumstances? You open the door to bribery and corruption from top to bottom. You establish in the party the very condition of affairs which we denounce so bitterly in the American labor movement. This resolution repudiates the past, and is a stain on the historic records of Socialism.'"

While Sanial thus "expressed his astonishment at the attitude of the revolutionary Kautsky," Kretlow wrote, "Adler . . . called mockingly across the table to Kautsky: 'Karl, Du bist ein schlechtes Luder!' (You are a bad egg!)" "Then," Kretlow continued, "I asked these two wise men, Auer and Adler, being quite close to me, and who were now discussing the 'impartiality,' whether they could name me ONE ministry that was impartial, but unfortunately I am no leading light either, and only Adler condescended to reply with a shrugging of the shoulders."

When the vote was taken in the Ninth Commission on the Guesde and Kautsky resolutions, it stood 4 to 24. Let it be said to the undying credit of the S.L.P. that in the face of opposition little short of hostility, its vote was cast with the minority for the Guesde resolution. The other three votes were cast

by Guesde, Enrico Ferri (who declared that he did so in duty to his conscience, but wasn't sure he represented majority Italian sentiment), and the delegate from Bulgaria.

The matter then went before the Congress where, after a lively debate in which Sanial did not take part (Debate was suddenly shut off at the very moment when his turn to speak came!), the Kautsky resolution carried 29 to 9. Each nationality cast 2 votes. Of the American votes the S.L.P. delegation controlled but one. The other was cast by the delegates of the Debs-Kangaroo Social Democracy (Socialist party) for the Kautsky resolution. And no doubt, with it went the prayer that they, too, might one day have a Millerand!

In his Arlington Hall address Sanial said of the Congress:

"It was evident all through the Congress that bourgeois thought dominated its action. German small traders, Belgian cooperative society clerks, who through their stores form an immense bureaucracy. Ambitious men who desire portfolios, the Cabinet Socialists, and the English muddleheads were all in control. Against this mass of reaction the American delegation [S.L.P.], the Parti Ouvrier, Ferri of Italy with the Bulgarian and Irish delegations stood like a stone wall."

Kretlow's irreverence for the supposed puissance of the "great, wise men" bordered on the puckish. "For myself," he wrote, "I will say that I have met men here who are considered Socialists and were delegates that we in the States would take by the slack of the pants and kick through the door." He valued the opportunity, however, to "judge the movement according to the economic development of the country." He was proud of the Socialist Labor Party delegation of "six of those 'narrow,' 'intolerant,' 'abusive,' etc., members of the, in my mind, most advanced and best disciplined organization of the world; in the midst of whom Sanial appeared like a father with his sons."

Vindication at Amsterdam.

The second and final *official* chapter was written to the *affaire Millerand* and the Kautsky resolution four years later at Amsterdam. As its delegate to that Congress the Party sent its most distinguished member, the foremost American Marxist, Daniel De Leon. De Leon was a member of the Congress Committee on International Political Policy, or, as he aptly designated it, "the committee to rectify the blunder of the last International Congress." By this time the evils of Millerandism had become so con-

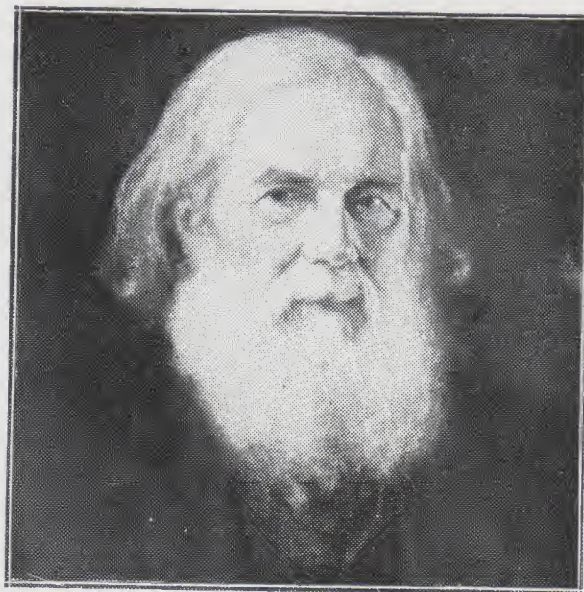
spicuous that many of those who supported the Kautsky resolution at Paris were compelled, reluctantly, to admit their error. Whereas only 4 votes were cast for the Guesde resolution, or against the Kautsky resolution, in the committee at Paris, and 24 for the Kautsky resolution, fully three-fourths of the Committee on International Political Policy at Amsterdam wanted somehow to repeal it. "Of these," wrote De Leon in his preliminary report, "I held the extreme position—extreme in the sense that I moved plump and plain its repeal. I did not typify this element; the bulk of it, either out of consideration for Kautsky, or out of consideration for the German Social Democracy, or out of some other reasons, preferred to proceed with a tender hand and in a roundabout way."

The story of what transpired at Amsterdam is told comprehensively in the series of reports, essays and thumbnail sketches De Leon wrote for the *Daily People* and which are published in book form as "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress." But "Flashlights" is more than a report. It is a masterful analytic critique of the European Socialist movement, indispensable not only to an understanding of the causal factors of the ignominious rout of Social Democracy, but to an understanding of contemporary European history as well. The rise of totalitarianism on the Continent was due, not to the strength of Nazi-Fascist hoodlums and their industrialist sponsors, but to the weakness of the working class—a weakness whose cause may be traced back to the infections spread by Social Democracy, back to the compromises made for the sake of "unity" and "bigness" by the German Social Democracy at Gotha in 1875. "Flashlights" limns both the past and the future, foretelling in unequivocal language of logic and vigor the consequences of compromise with the foe and of what Marx so aptly designated "parliamentary idiocy." "Flashlights" also gives the lie to those who attacked De Leon and the S.L.P. as "doctrinaire," and who pleaded "tolerance" as a shield for their own treachery. It is a veritable monument to Marxian-Morgan dialectics, and affords the greatest American exponent of this method of reasoning the opportunity to discuss the movement in other countries in relation to the material and political conditions prevailing in them.

De Leon Nails Kautsky.

In his "preliminary report" (published in "Flashlights") De Leon reproduced the substance of his address before the committee. Guesde had spoken; Jaures followed with a rebuttal and Kautsky answered him; De Leon replied to Kautsky saying:

"Both Kautsky and Jaures have agreed that an International Congress can do no more than establish cardinal general principles; and they both agree that concrete measures of policy must be left to the requirements of individual countries. So do I hold. Kautsky scored the point against Jaures that the lat-



Lucien Sanial

Frequent delegate of the Socialist Labor Party to the earlier International Congresses. Lucien Sanial edited *The People* when it was first launched but resigned within a year on the plea of poor eyesight.

ter is estopped from objecting to decrees by the congress on concrete matters of policy, because Jaures voted in Paris for the Kautsky resolution. That argument also is correct, and being correct it scores a point against Kautsky himself, at the same time. His argument is an admission that his resolution goes beyond the theoretical sphere which, according to himself, it is the province of an International Congress to legislate upon. It must be admitted that the countries of the sisterhood of nations are not all at the same grade of social development. We know that the bulk of them still are hampered by feudal conditions. The concrete tactics, applicable and permissible in them, are inapplicable and unpermissible in a republic like the United States, for instance. But the sins of the Kautsky resolution are more serious than even that. Kautsky just stated that his resolution contemplated only an extreme emergency—a war, for instance, and that he never could or did contemplate the case of a Socialist sitting in a Cabinet alongside of a Galliffet. He says so. We must believe him. But while he was contemplating the distant, the imaginary possibility of a war that was not in



The German Social Democratic Congress in Berlin, 1892

Easily recognizable in this group are August Bebel (with the copy of *Vorwaerts* in his hand at the extreme right) and Wilhelm Liebknecht (directly behind Bebel).

sight, everybody else at the Paris congress had in mind a thing that WAS in sight; a thing that was palpitating and throbbing with a feverish pulse; aye, a spectacle under which the very opening of the Paris Congress was thrown into convulsions. And what spectacle was that? — Why, it was the very spectacle and fact of a Socialist sitting in a cabinet cheek by jowl, not merely with A, but with THE Gallifet. Whatever Kautsky may have been thinking of when he presented his resolution and voted for it, we have his own, officially recorded, words that go to show that he knew what the minds of all others were filled with at the time. I have here in my satchel the official report of the Dresden convention. In his speech, therein recorded, he says himself that Auer, the spokesman of the German delegation in favor of the Kautsky resolution, said when speaking for the resolution: 'We, in Germany, have not yet a Millerand; we are not yet so far; but I hope we may soon be so far'—that is what was in the minds of all—Millerand, the associate of Gallifet.

"It is obvious that a resolution adopted under such conditions—its own framer keeping his eyes on an emergency that was not above the horizon, while all others kept their eyes upon the malodorous enormity that was bumping against their noses and shocking the Socialist conscience of the world—it goes without saying that such a resolution, adopted under such conditions, should have thrown the Socialist world into the convulsions of the discussions that we all know of during the last four years; it goes without saying that such a resolution would be interpreted in conflicting senses, and that has happened to such an extent that the Kautsky resolution has come to be known as the 'Kaoutchouc resolution.' (Uproarious laughter.)

"In view of this fact the first thing to do is to clear the road of such an encumbrance. For that reason I move the adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas, The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is a continuous and ir-

repressible conflict, a conflict that tends every day rather to be intensified than to be softened;

"Whereas, The existing governments are committees of the ruling class, intended to safeguard the yoke of capitalist exploitation upon the neck of the working class;

"Whereas, At the last International Congress, held in Paris, in 1900, a resolution generally known as the Kautsky resolution was adopted, the closing clauses of which contemplate the emergency of the working class accepting office at the hand of such capitalist governments, and also and especially **PRE-SUPPOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPARTIALITY ON THE PART OF THE RULING CLASS GOVERNMENTS IN THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS**; and

"Whereas, the said clauses—applicable, perhaps, in countries not yet wholly freed from feudal institutions—were adopted under conditions both in France and in the Paris Congress itself, that justify erroneous conclusions on the nature of the class struggle, the character of capitalist governments, and the tactics that are imperative upon the proletariat in the pursuit of its campaign to overthrow the capitalist system in countries, which, like the United States of America, have wholly wiped out feudal institutions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, First, That the said Kautsky resolution be and the same is hereby repealed as a principle of general Socialist tactics;

"Second, That, in fully developed capitalist countries, like America, the working class cannot, without betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, fill any political office other than they conquer for and by themselves.

"Offered by **DANIEL DE LEON**, Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, with credentials from the Socialist Labor Party of Australia and of Canada.'

"From New York to California the Socialist Labor Party, that I here represent, felt the shock of that Kautsky resolution. The *Evening Post* quoted it as an illustration of the 'sanity' of the European Socialists as against us 'insane' Socialists of America. From the way you have received my proposition to repeal the mistake, I judge my proposition will not be accepted. So much the worse for you. But whether accepted or not, I shall be able to return to America—as our Socialist Labor Party delegation did from Paris four years ago—with my hands and the skirts of the Party clear from all blame, the real victors in the case."

As De Leon surmised, the S.L.P. proposition was rejected. Instead, the committee adopted what was known as the Dresden resolution, which accomplished the amazing feat of strongly condemning the evils the Kautsky resolution approved without directly repudiating the Kautsky resolution. The Dresden resolution carried in the committee by a vote of 27 to 3. De Leon cast his vote in favor. "My own motion having been defeated," he explained, "...there was nothing for me to do but to vote for the Dresden resolution as the best thing that could be obtained under the circumstances. To vote against it would have been to rank the Socialist Labor Party of America alongside of Jaures; to abstain from voting would be a roundabout way of doing the same thing. In voting as I did, I explained my position as wishing to give the greatest emphasis that the circumstances allowed me to the condemnation of the Jaures policy, and the Kautsky resolution; and I stated that I would explain my position in the Congress when I would there present my own resolution again."

Instead, however, it was decided that Vandervelde report for the committee and include in his report a statement of the S.L.P. position which De Leon supplied him. The vote on the Dresden resolution in the Congress stood 25 for, and 5 against. There were 12 abstentions. Both American votes (S.L.P. and S.P.) were cast with the majority, although Morris Hillquit, Socialist party delegate, had told the committee that the Kautsky resolution "was accurate and suited him. He denied," said De Leon, "that it had shocked the classconscious workers of America."

Thus the infamous Kautsky resolution was, in effect, rescinded, but the evils which it was meant to justify were, alas, far from being laid by the heels.

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The S.L.P. Fight for Its Seat on the International Bureau.

The "loose, picnic character" of the International Congresses, their Babel of languages, and infrequency, were serious drawbacks which the International attempted to overcome by creating the International Socialist Bureau. This was launched at the Paris Congress, 1900. It was to be composed of two representatives from each of the nationalities enrolled and was to meet much more frequently than the Congresses. Headquarters for the Bureau were established in Brussels which became the dissemination point for international Socialist news and information.

The bureau was supposed to be a working body, and its more sober character was to compensate for

the weaknesses of the Congresses. It became, in fact, the extreme opposite of the Congresses and its arbitrary, pompous and inconsistent deportment made it the butt of many a satirical thrust. In his "Flashlights" De Leon writes of the "witty persiflage" published in the *Edinburgh Socialist*, organ of the British Socialist Labor Party. The satire offered the following resolution in the name of the huge British delegation as the climax of their deliberations:

"Resolved, That the class struggle does and shall continue to exist *until notified to the contrary by the officials of the International Bureau.*"

De Leon declared he had "not yet heard a criticism of the International Bureau that is not correct. It is, on the morrow, inconsistent with its own precedents of the previous day; it now decides a case one way, then another; it is hasty; it is childish; it is arbitrary. . . . the bureau's present attitude is just one to warrant the joke that it could notify the class struggle that the latter was abrogated. The International Bureau is all that," De Leon added, "and yet it is eminently necessary and eminently useful." He expressed the expectation that it would "cast off the slough of the defects of its youth, and get itself into proper working order." But the Bureau never lived up to this expectation. It remained arbitrary and continued to reflect all the evils of the European Socialist movement.

De Leon was the Socialist Labor Party representative on the International Socialist Bureau, but he sat at its meetings only when they coincided with the International Congresses. At some of the other sessions the Party authorized Paul Kretlow, who lived in Berlin, to act as De Leon's substitute.

The representative of the Socialist party was, first, George D. Herron, then the lawyer, Morris Hillquit. De Leon's factual exposures of the Socialist party's opportunism, shameless fusion with Republican and Democratic politicians, and anti-Socialist conduct, generally, in his reports to the Bureau and the Congresses vexed the S.P., and especially its representative on the International Bureau. Excessively vain and pompous, Hillquit would have liked to cut a figure before the elite of the European movement. With De Leon on the spot prepared to refute his vainglorious boasts and reduce him to his proper pigmy stature, Hillquit was at a loss. In 1908 the Socialist party schemed a scheme to eliminate this menace in order that its representative might strut before the shining lights of the European movement unmolested. Although it failed ignominiously, the attempt holds interest for the light it throws upon the low cunning and sharp practices of reformism.

In the Fall of 1908, one John M. Work, of the S.P. executive committee, introduced a resolution to call upon the International Bureau to give both American seats to the Socialist party. The move was intended, said De Leon, "to choke off the voice of the S.L.P. in the councils of the International Movement and leave the S.P. a free field on which to buttress up with fresh false claims, the claims it had previously set up and which events were demonstrating as false."

The First Coup Fails.

The scheme required that a coup be made at one of the sessions of the International Bureau when De Leon was not present to defend the S.L.P. in its right to a seat. Accordingly, in pursuit of this scheme, the S.P.ite, Victor L. Berger, attended the November, 1909, session and moved that the seat occupied by De Leon be given him. The S.L.P., however, had taken the precaution to send Kretlow to this conference. Kretlow stoutly defended the S.L.P., and the motion failed.

Reporting the failure to the 1910 convention of the Socialist party, Berger glumly recounted how he had "explained" to the Bureau "in a few words that the Socialist Labor Party had gone downward continually since the year 1898; that it now legally and practically had ceased as a party, and that it had only a nominal paper existence."

Pursuing the same familiar and wishful refrain, Berger insisted that the S.L.P. "could at best be considered a propaganda club" and he considered it "ridiculously unjust and unjustly ridiculous to grant the Socialist Labor Party the same representation as we [the S.P.] have. . . ." He had not answered Kretlow's charge that the S.P. was a petty bourgeois affair, he said, and "only when Mr. Kretlow claimed that we were fusing everywhere with the Republicans and Democrats, I [Berger] interrupted with the words, 'That is a lie.' " It was *not* a lie, though it *was* an overstatement. It was not "everywhere" that the S.P. fused with out-and-out capitalist parties, but only where it could make a deal that would promote its political fortunes.

At Copenhagen the following year Berger's report of what had allegedly taken place at the 1909 session of the International Bureau boomeranged to the mortification of its author when De Leon held it up and compared it with the official report issued by the Bureau itself, which told quite another story.

At the session of the International Bureau which preceded the Copenhagen Congress in 1910, the S.P. tried once more to usurp the seat of the S.L.P., this time by a trick of the lowest cunning. It was cus-

tomary at the sessions of the Bureau for each of the members present to sign a sheet of paper. De Leon signed in his turn, but glancing at the paper after it had passed around, he noticed the names of Hillquit and Berger. "I see on the list of those who have signed themselves present as members of the bureau



Rosa Luxemburg

Vilified by the bourgeois opportunists of the German Social Democracy, as De Leon was vilified by the same element in America, she was murdered by agents of the Social Democratic coalition government.

three names from America," he said. "I desire to know how many delegates America is entitled to here, and what their names are." Secretary Huysmans of the Bureau replied that America had but two delegates. "They are, for the Socialist party, Hillquit, for the Socialist Labor Party, De Leon. If any one else is present he can only be an alternate." Thus the second coup failed.

New Shyster Tricks.

But the S.P. politicians, poverty-stricken for argument though they were, had by no means exhausted their stock of shyster tricks. Hillquit jumped to his feet to dispute Huysmans's decision with the specious argument that the two delegates on the Bureau did not represent their respective parties. "They represent America," he said. He admitted that De Leon and himself were the American representatives on the Bureau, "but next Monday the delegations from

America will meet and, as at Stuttgart, elect by majority, as all the other nations do, another delegate in De Leon's place."

This quibble and double falsehood recalled to De Leon the Hillquitian feat "performed in America when he [Hillquit] was trying to rob the S.L.P. of its name, and which consisted of presenting at court thirty-one affidavits to the correctness of one affidavit that did not exist." Huysmans reproved Hillquit, saying it was an "error" to assume that the delegates represented their countries and not their parties. He also stated that it was not a fact nor was the principle acceptable that the representatives to the Bureau be elected by a majority vote in a joint session of the two delegations. Thereupon De Leon disproved Hillquit's claim that the joint session of the two delegations at Stuttgart had decided who should sit on the Bureau. "The fact is that each delegation appointed its own party representation on the committees of the Congress; the fact is that, even on the subject of apportioning the vote of the two parties, we proceeded upon a principle that amounted to each having equality of vote," De Leon told the Bureau. "And I rubbed this in three times, seeing I translated myself into German and French."

The next day Hillquit "returned to the charge" by introducing a resolution in which the secretary and others thought they detected another surreptitious attempt to oust De Leon from the Bureau. But several members of the Bureau expressed themselves so strongly that Hillquit was forced to "take backwater." He meekly assured the Bureau that his resolution was not intended to exclude De Leon, but to apportion the vote of delegates on the Bureau to coincide with the vote cast in the Congress by their respective parties. As we shall see subsequently, the resolution was not so innocuous as Hillquit would have the Bureau believe.

When the S.P. and S.L.P. delegations finally met in joint session, De Leon moved the status quo so far as votes in the Congress and on the Bureau were concerned. Prior to the Stuttgart Congress each nation had two votes in the Congress, but at Stuttgart the system was changed. Of the fourteen votes given the American delegation, the S.L.P. had three, the S.P. eleven. The S.P. was not satisfied with this arrangement, however, and at the joint session Spargo moved that the S.L.P. be given one vote and the S.P. thirteen. Had Spargo stopped there, De Leon was disposed to debate the question, and, perhaps yield, thus giving the S.P. the privilege of paying 200 francs extra as dues to the Bureau—each vote costing 100 francs. But Spargo added that the S.P. delegation had strict instructions to cast their votes for both

seats on the Bureau. On this point the S.L.P. would not yield.

The question was appealed to the Bureau, before which De Leon neatly punctured the S.P. claim to 53,375 members. He also showed by the decline in the S.P. vote in the large cities that their claim to an increase in influence among the workers was a gross exaggeration. In conclusion, he exhibited Berger's report of what had allegedly occurred at the 1909 session of the Bureau and contrasted it with the official Bureau report in order to demonstrate the degree of reliability that could be attached to the utterances of the S.P.

Hillquit replied, said De Leon, with a "regulation anti-S.L.P. speech of the S.P.ite: The S.L.P. was dead; only De Leon was left; the S.P. had 53,375 members; the S.L.P. was only a tremendous impediment to the S.P. hurting the S.P. everywhere; and more to the same effect."

Rosa Luxemburg Speaks for the S.L.P.

Hillquit was answered in a neat, incisive speech by the uncompromising Polish Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, who said:

"The leading feature of Hillquit's speech is an inextricable contradiction to me. I do not understand how, if the S.P. is as large as it claims and the S.L.P. consists of De Leon only, one single man could so tremendously hurt 53,375 others."

With this the matter of representation on the Bureau was considered settled in favor of the S.L.P., and the question of giving the S.P. thirteen of the fourteen votes in the Congress was taken up and voted on. Ten members of the Bureau voted for the status quo, thirteen to give the S.P. the two extra seats. Of this decision De Leon wrote:

"A European wit who was present remarked that what gave the S.P. that majority of three was the speech of Rosa Luxemburg; that she, being violently hated by the nationalists of Eastern Europe, whatever side she took they took the opposite. I answered that I would rather have one vote for the S.L.P. with Rosa Luxemburg's speech than our former three without that speech."

On the question of representation on the Bureau the S.P. had been roundly routed in each attack. But there is a singular obstinacy about the reformer which impels him to return again and again, each time hopefully, with a new deception from his inexhaustible bag of tricks. Hillquit was no exception. The resolution he had introduced in order surreptitiously to remove

De Leon from the Bureau, but which he denied was for that purpose, was reintroduced with an amendment providing that "no party shall have representation on the Bureau unless it cast two votes in the Congress." If adopted, it would have automati-



Paul Lafargue

Able Marxist and brilliant satirist. Lafargue married Marx's daughter, Laura. He took a prominent part in the organization of the Second International.

cally eliminated S.L.P. representation. Alas for Hillquit, this subterfuge, too, failed.

"It was an instance," wrote De Leon, "in which the theory was demonstrated that dishonesty betrays stupidity. Civilized legislative methods demanded that the purpose of a law be expressly stated. To get the S.L.P. in Congress reduced with express assurances that there was no purpose to remove the S.L.P. from the Bureau, and then bring in a proposition whereby the reduced vote would be made the ground for automatically vacating the S.L.P. seat—such a move was obviously so dishonorable that it, better than aught I could have proved, illustrated to the Bureau what the S.P. methods are which the S.L.P. was constantly forced to wrestle with; the move was so transparently underhanded that the large majority of the Bureau must have promptly seen through it. Despite the repeated efforts on the part of Hillquit to bring up his original proposition, which would have dragged up behind it that typical Hillquitian amendment to his own motion, the Bureau shoved it aside."

This was the final attempt to get the S.L.P. unseated. The "scourge" of the S.P. remained on the Bureau—to the boundless exasperation of Hillquit and his pals.

The S.P. Suffers Bad Attack of "De Leonitis."

To De Leon attending an International Congress was a tedious, though necessary, duty. To prospective S.P. delegates it was a holiday. But, like most holidays, it was not one of unalloyed pleasure. A skirmish with De Leon was never a very satisfactory experience and when it occurred before an audience of international Socialist celebrities it was the source of the greatest chagrin. Hillquit appears to have been a strong believer in numbers as the best defense against this "scourge" who followed them across the sea. However, it must be admitted that De Leon, or, should we say, the *De Leonitis* from which the S.P. suffered was not the sole reason for the desire to send a large delegation. As Hillquit explained to the 1904 S.P. convention in a speech supporting his motion to pay the expenses of three delegates and issue credentials to seventeen more who would pay their own way, large delegations are impressive. "... the time has arrived," he argued with ludicrous solemnity, "when we ought to take a place among the nations of the world in the movement of Socialism."

This seemed like a sound and convincing argument, especially to the select group whose chance of drawing a free trip was good. The less prominent S.P. delegates were inclined to regard the proposal as extravagant, and someone offered an amendment to Hillquit's motion to reduce the number of delegates whose expenses were to be paid to one. Delegate Spargo, who has since won for himself a dubious fame as wheelhorse for the Republican party, thought it wrong to be penny wise and pound foolish. He reminded the convention that De Leon would be at the Amsterdam Congress and would "vilify," "calumniate" and "misrepresent alike the personnel and the character of the Socialist party of this country." Spargo, who knew well that De Leon never ventured charges he was not prepared to back up with facts, evidently believed that if only enough S.P.ites were on the spot to deny them, De Leon's allegations would be "refuted" by sheer force of numbers. He was tremendously concerned over "the opinion and the good will and the good faith" of European Socialists and expressed the hope "that when our International Congress meets in Amsterdam we shall have a delegation from the Socialist party of America worthy of the present strength of the party [!], worthy of its intellectual character [!!], worthy of its prospects [!!!], and second to no delegation in the Congress [!!!!]."

The "penny wise" delegates were unimpressed. "It seems to me absurd to go on spending money to send three delegates across the water to be an anti-

dote to De Leon," one said. And another, whose misguided faith in the prowess of S.P. leading lights was equally strong, argued heatedly that the S.P. "is not so weak as to require three of its best men to match De Leon..." Still another "would be sorry if we would send three delegates because one party in this country has decided to send De Leon." He thought it was the "worst mistake" to be "talking about De Leon."

To the exasperation of the hopefuls, the amendment prevailed and the expenses of only one delegate, Hillquit, were paid. Others attended, however, but the puissance of the S.P. delegation did not increase in the same ratio as its numbers. One ass cuts a sorry figure; ten cut a sorrier figure still. And no delegation ever cut a sorrier figure than that of the S.P. at the Amsterdam Congress where, while pleading the cause of "internationalism," it delivered a gratuitous insult to members of the international Socialist family.

The S.P.'s Conception of Internationalism.

At home the S.P. faithfully reflected the class-sundering, guild-spirit-breathing A. F. of L. At its convention it had adopted a resolution constituting an endorsement of the A. F. of L. which caused one of its members to write wrathfully that "as it stands the Socialist party is committed to scab-herding." The S.P. was also committed to the job-trust practices of the A. F. of L. and to its class-dividing attitude toward immigration. It saw no contradiction in declaiming for internationalism while simultaneously slandering workers of other races. On a billboard set up in Troy, New York, to promote the election of Eugene Debs, the S.P. inscribed the motto: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" "... in commentary on the party's interpretation of the great Socialist motto," wrote De Leon, "there was [on the same billboard] an exordium to the workers, enumerating, among the atrocities of the capitalists, that 'they want unrestricted immigration.'"

The S.P. wanted restricted immigration, as did the A. F. of L., and at the Amsterdam Congress three of its delegation signed a resolution which called for the exclusion of "backward races." When the resolution was first brought up in committee the word "inferior" was used but this was disingenuously dropped. The resolution sought to explain what was meant by "backward races" by placing in parentheses the words, "such as Chinese, Negroes, ETC."

Describing the incident in "Flashlights," De Leon wrote:

"The proposition being put in print and circu-

lated in the Congress, the canvassing commenced. The bulk of the day I was elsewhere engaged and did not appear in my seat. Imagining he could take advantage of that and secure both the American votes for his A. F. of L. guildish resolution, Schluter [an S.P. delegate] approached my fellow delegate, Poehland, and sought to rope him in. Of course, he failed egregiously, and found out that the S.L.P. consists not of one man but of a solid body of Socialists. Poehland repudiated Schluter's request for support: he repudiated it with scorn. Of course: Where is the line that separates 'inferior' from 'superior' races? What serious man, if he is a Socialist, what Socialist if he is a serious man, would indulge in 'etc.' in such important matters? . . . Socialism knows not such insulting, iniquitous distinctions as 'inferior' and 'superior' races among the proletariat. It is for capitalism to fan the fires of such sentiments in its scheme to keep the proletariat divided."

The Congress raised such a howl when the proposition came up for debate that it was withdrawn. But three years later, at Stuttgart, it was reintroduced. In the committee which considered it at Stuttgart the S.L.P. proved documentarily that it was economically and politically an echo of the scab-herding A. F. of L. The resolution was roundly routed and another resolution denouncing the noxious propaganda of anti-immigration was adopted by the Congress in its stead.

A Hypocrisy Exposed.

The United States was not the only nation to send two sets of rival delegates to the International Socialist Congresses. In France, Russia, Great Britain, and several smaller nations, the movement was riven. At Amsterdam, and again at Stuttgart and Copenhagen, efforts were made to reconcile the rival parties. The resolution adopted by the Stuttgart Congress calling for unity laid down conditions acceptable to the S.L.P. At the first meeting of the Socialist Labor Party's National Executive Committee after the Stuttgart Congress, it adopted a motion to propose unity to the S.P. "upon no conditions other than the principles of the International Congress—minority representation, liberal immigration and the recognition of the essential function of Unionism in the performance of the revolutionary act"—as De Leon summarized the conditions in his report to the Copenhagen Congress. *The Socialist party rejected the offer.*

Nevertheless, when another unity resolution was introduced at the Copenhagen Congress, reiterating in more forceful language the earlier resolutions, *the*

S.P. delegation applauded! Accustomed as he was to S.P. hypocrisy, De Leon was shocked by this display of brazen impudence. "I took the platform," he reported in the *Daily People*, "I announced myself as a delegate from a country where the parties were split; I declared myself in loyal accord, without mental reservation of the proposed resolution; and I added:

" 'A similar resolution was adopted six years ago at Amsterdam, it was adopted unanimously, the S.P. delegation voting for and applauding it. Nevertheless, when, in obedience with the said decree of the Congress, the S.L.P., although the smaller party, set pride aside, and, in January of last year tendered unity to the S.P. . . . , the tender was rejected. For these reasons I here call upon the S.P. delegation to take the platform, and let this Congress know whether that party's applause for, and support of, the resolution before us are merely Platonic demonstrations covering mental reservations. For my Party I here state that, by January, we shall have a committee, elected by the Party, ready to confer with a similar committee from the S.P. to carry out this resolution. I call upon the S.P. to let this Congress know what it is to expect from the S.P.' "

To this Hillquit replied in a speech which clumsily dodged the issue and was replete with duplicity. The S.L.P. was "dead," he said, but the S.P. would welcome it "with open arms" if it would abandon "its harmful I.W.W. whims against the unions." That is, it would "welcome" the S.L.P. if the S.L.P. would repudiate the very principle which the International set forth as a basis for negotiation and unity!

Industrial Union Agitation Abroad.

Socialist Labor Party delegations strived patiently and earnestly to hold up the mirror of America to our European comrades in order that they might see reflected there the future economic status of their own countries. With tactful but vigorous logic, the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism was presented and argued whenever the opportunity presented itself. With a few notable exceptions, the representatives of European parties were unimpressed.

Illustrative of the campaign conducted within the International by the S.L.P. was the effort made at the Stuttgart Congress (1907) where the relationship between Socialist parties and trade unions was one of the principal subjects on the agenda. Of the resolutions offered there but two went beyond the

committee. One was introduced by the German delegation. "It was a collection of words so inoffensive that all might agree to them," wrote De Leon in his report to the *Daily People*. Non-committal, it received amendment after amendment until it took on the character of an "Omnibus Bill"—out of which one could take what he liked, and reject what did not suit him." The other resolution (authored by De Leon) was offered jointly by the S. L. P. and the I.W.W.¹ It was a forthright and terse declaration on the mission of both the political party and the union and their relationship to one another. It declared:

"Whereas, the integrally organized industrial organization of the working class is the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and foreshadows the organic form of that Commonwealth, as well as its administrative powers;

"Whereas, craft unionism, wherever capitalism has reached untrammelled full bloom, has approved itself what the plutocratic *Wall Street Journal* of New York hailed it, in hailing the Gompers-Mitchell American Federation of Labor, 'The bulwark of capitalist society,' that bred the officialdom which the American capitalist Mark Hanna designated as his 'Labor Lieutenantship'; therefore be it

"Resolved, 1. That 'neutrality' toward trades unions, on the part of a political party of Socialism, is equivalent to 'neutrality toward the machinations of the capitalist class';

"2. That the bona fide, or revolutionary Socialist, movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of labor, the former for propaganda and warfare upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable physical force with which to back up the ballot, without which force all ballot is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lock-out of the capitalist class;

"3. That, without the political organization, the labor or Socialist movement could not reach its triumph: without the economic, the day of its triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure and simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement.

"Industrial Workers of the World,
Socialist Labor Party (America)."

¹This was before the I.W.W. went anarcho-syndicalist. From its organization in 1905 until 1908, the I.W.W. was founded on the principles enunciated by De Leon and the S.L.P. In 1908 the "I'm-a-bummary" threw the political clause out of the preamble.

The majority on the committee were unmoved by this logic, some because they could not grasp it, others because it struck squarely at their material interests. However, De Leon and Heslewood (I.W.W. delegate) were not alone in defending their position either before the committee or in the Congress. Delegates from Italy, France and Switzerland also took a firm stand in its favor.

"How amazed conservatism was at this display," reported De Leon, "soon appeared from the language held to us (America) by several of the committeemen, Russia especially, who voted for the 'Omnibus': they admitted the thorough correctness of our position, and hungrily asked for literature."

When the two resolutions came up before the Congress the support for the S.L.P. position was even more impressive. Besides 4 1/2 votes from America (the craft union-wooing S.P., of course, voted against it), there were 11 votes from France (the majority of the French vote) and 3 votes from Italy. The delegate from Switzerland was prevented from voting for the resolution by a rule requiring that the Swiss vote be cast as a unit. This delegate, Mrs. Faas-Hardegger, impressed De Leon tremendously. He regarded her as one of the most "promiseful new figures at Stuttgart" and commented at length on her ready grasp of the revolutionary role of the trade unions.

Although requested to withdraw their resolution, De Leon and Heslewood refused. They could not accept the German "Omnibus" resolution because it was obscure and made no distinction between the functions of the political party and the union. De Leon cited Marx's aphorism that "Only the economic organization is capable of setting on foot a true political party of labor, and thus raise a bulwark against the power of capital." When the committee had adjourned, De Leon was approached by Baer, the German delegate who was credited with drawing up the "Omnibus" resolution. Baer felt as though he had been rebuked and sought to justify his riddled handiwork. He began by attacking the authenticity of Marx's statement on trade unions and their relation to political parties, offering as "proof" that Marx had not made it, certain paragraphs of his own resolution. If Marx had made such a statement, Baer argued, those paragraphs would not have been included! De Leon disposed of this good-humoredly by challenging Baer to prove that he had read all that Marx wrote. This Baer did not attempt to do.

Later the author of the "Omnibus" resolution returned to the charge with the contention that the S.L.P.-I.W.W. resolution had the defect of being

cast too exclusively in an American mold. ("...ist zu sehr auf Amerikanischen Verhaeltnissen zugesplitzt.") To the latter argument De Leon replied:

"That is not a defect, it is a virtue. I have read of commissions, appointed from Germany, from France and even from such a capitalist land as England, to proceed to America and learn there how does the American capitalist class manage to squeeze so much wealth out of the workers. I never heard of any commission from America sent to France, England or Germany to take lessons here in the art of exploitation. Do you see the point?"

Baer looked contemplative.

"I'll tell you," De Leon continued. "What happens in the capitalist world of America is of international moment; what happens in Germany is not."

Unable to reply to this, Baer returned for still a third encounter, this time with the announcement that he had discovered a fatal contradiction in the S.L.P.-I.W.W. resolution. The "contradiction" was in the sentence declaring that the union is "the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor" and the other sentence that neutrality toward the trade unions "is equivalent to neutrality toward the machinations of the capitalist class." "That means that the unions are machinations of the capitalist class. How can they be embryos of future society?" Baer asked triumphantly.

"Dear Baer [Lieber Baer]," De Leon replied, "tell Kautsky¹ for me that if I decline to be neutral in the conflicts between my brother and a scheming thief, and I pronounce the actions of the latter 'machinations,' it does not follow that I thereby contradict myself in that I therefore pronounce my brother a 'thief,' and must treat him as such. Quite otherwise. You may add that one is justified to expect from delegates to the International Congress that they have a certain minimum of international information. In America—and it will be so in all other lands in the measure that they develop—we have two sets of unions—the I.W.W. and, broadly speaking, the A. F. of L., the latter of which is a 'machination' of the capitalist class. To remain neutral in the conflict between these two unions is to be neutral toward the machinations of capitalism."

Since 1893, when he first attended an International Congress at Zurich, De Leon had been impressed by the cultivated ignorance of European lumina-

ries concerning America. But his patience was infinite. "Thick as the thickest jungle," he commented soberly after reporting his encounter with Baer, "is the jungle of misinformation, prejudice and false reasoning that Socialism has to cut its way through. Yet there is no room for despair. Capitalism raises and drills the soldiers that are to overthrow it. Itself acts as antidote to the errors it breeds."

III.

The S.L.P. was not represented at Basle in 1912. Had it been, it would surely have voted in favor of the manifesto adopted there, warning the governments of Europe that the workers of all countries would stand staunchly together should they loose the dogs of war. There was no mistaking the meaning of warlike preparations evident on every hand. "At any moment the great European nations may hurl themselves at one another, which crime against humanity and reason cannot be justified by *any pretext as to its being committed in the interests of the people*," said the manifesto. It bared the capitalist rivalries and class diplomacy which invited armed conflict and declared that the "whole Socialist International was unanimous" in opposing the designs of the rulers. Finally, it called upon the workers everywhere to "see to it that the governments have before their eyes the constantly vigilant and passionate desire of the whole proletariat for peace!" The manifesto left much to be desired, but its emphasis on international working class solidarity awakened the hope that, come what may, the Socialists would be unyielding.

In December, 1913, the International Socialist Bureau met to make plans for another Congress where the Basle manifesto was expected to be reaffirmed. The importance of this Congress, which was to be held in Vienna in August, 1914 (fateful month!), lay not only in the critical international situation. It was also to be a commemoration Congress—commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Second International and the fiftieth anniversary of the First International—both dates, happily, coinciding. The Bureau urged its affiliates everywhere to hold commemorative fetes. And in Vienna the Austrian Social Democracy was making elaborate plans for the reception of the largest delegations ever to attend a Congress.

In July the glowering clouds of war lay heavy on Central Europe. Knowing not when the storm would break but assailed with the awful certainty that it would not long be delayed, the Bureau hastily moved up the date of the Congress and shifted it to Paris.

¹It is evident that De Leon suspected that Baer was repeating Kautsky's arguments, possibly at Kautsky's behest. Baer was a trade union official who was being helped by Kautsky to rise in the German Social Democracy.

doubtless have been tempered with this understanding—but his castigations would have been no less severe.

Most of the membership of the Socialist Labor Party were fortified against the shock chiefly through De Leon's masterful "flashlights" of the European movement. In America they expressed their indignation freely, but in an "Address of the Socialist Labor Party to the Parties Affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau," the Party refrained from singling out any of the European parties for attack. Instead, the address emphasized the lesson to be learned. "Recent events—the downfall of the International, the evident hopeless misunderstanding between the parties engaged in the present terrible war, the insistence that each side in the conflict is fighting for social betterment and the advancement of human progress—all prove that in some respects the parties in Europe, however successfully they may have grappled with the problems of the day, failed to take proper cognizance of certain fundamental principles of Socialism, and, failing to take cognizance of these principles, failed equally to provide measures for the situation as it has risen in Europe today." The address proceeded to enunciate once again the stubborn truth and set forth the uncompromising program of the S.L.P.

In December, 1914, the Socialist Labor Party received an invitation to a conference of "Social Democratic Parties of Neutral Countries," to be held in Copenhagen, January 15, 1915. The National Executive Committee rejected the invitation. In a letter addressed to the conference, pointing out that until the European movement showed some signs of establishing itself on a scientific basis such conferences were unlikely to produce results, the S.L.P. declared: "...all the Socialist parties in Europe, with possibly one or two exceptions, are governed by the same principles which caused the parties in the belligerent nations to support their respective governments—viz.: that the proletarians of any country must defend 'their Fatherland' when it is being attacked. We hold that so long as this theory is adhered to, a repetition of the present mass-murder of Europe's proletariat may occur at any time."

As was anticipated, the Copenhagen conference came to naught.

S.L.P. Ponders Question of Withdrawal.

The colossal betrayal on the part of the most prominent parties of the Second International raised the question within the S.L.P. of the advisability of maintaining its affiliation. In April, 1915, Section Cincinnati introduced a resolution which amounted to

a demand for withdrawal and a proposal for the creation of "a new international along the general plan of the S.L.P. and the bona fide I.W.W." It declared that "the delegates of the S.L.P. to the International Congresses have repeatedly pointed out the ineffectiveness of political action ALONE, only to be defeated at every turn by the feudalistic bourgeois Socialists."

The resolution was properly seconded and submitted to the membership for a referendum vote.

There followed a lively discussion in the columns of the *Weekly People*. It was apparent that a strong sentiment favored the Cincinnati resolution. But many of the Party's most seasoned members counseled against withdrawal. Their position was summarized by the world-renowned artist-engraver, A. C. Kihn, then a member of the National Executive Committee Sub-Committee. He regarded the Cincinnati resolution as "untimely" and urged that "we keep ourselves free of any encumbrances" it would impose. The S.L.P. had taken the correct position toward the war. It had set forth this position in its "Address to the Affiliated Parties of the International." If the Cincinnati proposition were voted down, we would be represented at the post-war International Congress where our prestige would be enhanced by reason of our tried and tested internationalism. "If we are absent we accomplish nothing. If, after we have reasoned and fought with the European Socialists, our principles are still ignored and scoffed at, then, and not until then, is it time to withdraw from the International." Moreover, said Comrade Kihn, "the shaping of a new International. . . . will be a slow and uncertain process."

The arguments pro and con were exhaustive, but when the ballots were finally counted, the Party's decision was made in favor of the policy of watchful waiting—the Cincinnati resolution being defeated. How heavily sentiment weighed in the scales cannot easily be determined, but that it was a factor is readily acknowledged by some of those who participated in the referendum.

In the eventful years which followed, the hope that the Second International might be revitalized and reconstituted on a sound Marxist basis vanished. Sentiment within the S.L.P. for internationalism was as strong as ever but the *fact* of unregenerate corruption in the International tempered sentiment with cool judgment. The European Socialists emerged from the war with a revolting air of simulated innocence. With supreme effrontery they charged the proletariat with responsibility for the debacle and assigned to themselves the despicable role of frustrating and circumventing the revolution. Together with

the bourgeoisie and junkerdom, on whose hands was the blood of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and thousands of unnamed martyrs, they set up their bogus republics, denouncing with the epithet, "Bolshevik," all who rebelled against their treacherous rule.

The 1919 session of the National Executive Committee adopted a ringing resolution, expressing in the strongest terms the Party's utter contempt for this crowning betrayal. "The Second International, never an organization with which a truly revolutionary body like the S.L.P. could find itself in perfect accord," it declared, "ceased to exist and has ended in disgrace. Its career came to a close in the midst of a world catastrophe when its discordant constituent parts blew asunder under the fiery breath of a world war that plunged mankind into a sea of blood and misery. Its so-called leaders, swayed by bourgeois nationalist ideals and interests, at once betrayed the principles of revolutionary Socialism, and, arraying the proletarian masses of their respective countries in active support of the predatory capitalist interests responsible for the war in every one of the belligerent countries, they produced a new type of and added to the vocabulary of the movement a new term—the 'Social Patriot.' The masses of the working class in the countries involved, thrown into disorder by the treason of their misleaders, bewildered by the rapid succession of events, unable to find suddenly a new orientation in the midst of cataclysm, sought at first to stave off disaster by mass demonstrations against the war and then, blinded by the spurious slogan 'National Defense' raised by their misleaders, succumbed and paid for the bloody adventure of their capitalist masters with millions of lives, untold misery, plus the disruption of whatever international organization and relations the proletarian movement had possessed."

But the traitors were not done. "Obedient to the demands of the master class, an attempt has been made to revive the International, the discredited fragments of the discredited whole seeking to revamp the abortion under the same discredited leadership, and under the but thinly concealed aegis of the Imperialist Allied governments. To what end? To the end of utilizing it as a bulwark against the ever rising tide of the Social Revolution..."

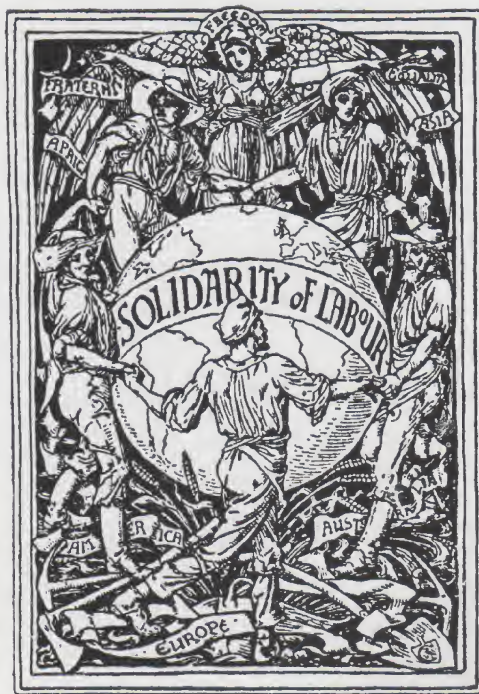
The N.E.C. resolved to submit the matter of formally severing all ties with the revived Second International to a referendum vote. It recalled that "some time prior to the Amsterdam International Congress (1904) there developed among the membership of the Socialist Labor Party a sentiment that further connection with the then International, which had at

the Paris International Congress adopted the infamous Kautsky resolution, was unbecoming to a truly revolutionary body.... This sentiment caused the question of further affiliation to be submitted to a referendum vote of the Party membership. The membership of that day, unable as yet to discern clearly the true character of the International, by the small majority of twenty-five votes decided in favor of further affiliation and it was in obedience of the Party's mandate, thus expressed, that Comrade De Leon went to Amsterdam as the representative of the S.L.P., although he had himself spoken and voted against further affiliation."

The decision was adopted unanimously when submitted to a referendum vote. Thus, after nearly thirty years of continuous membership in the Second International—thirty years of unrelenting opposition to opportunism and reformism and unremitting agitation for the principles of revolutionary Socialism within, as well as without, the International—the Socialist Labor Party retired from the field, its principles vindicated, its spirit as dauntless as when it helped to raise the proud banner of Internationalism that August day in Paris, 1889.

A "Call" for a Third International.

The Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917, had given a mighty impulse to the hopes and aspirations of workers everywhere. The Socialist Labor Party hailed it with enthusiasm, stoutly defending it against its calumniators. It did not, however, as many would-



be revolutionists did, leap to rash conclusions or lose its perspective. Material conditions in Russia ruled out the possibility of achieving Socialism at one blow, hence any historical analysis of the October Revolution, which failed to take into account the immense and possibly insurmountable obstacles presented by a semi-feudal economy, would lead to dangerously misleading conclusions. Nevertheless, the Socialist Labor Party looked to the Russian Revolution for the initiative and inspiration which would rally the classconscious workers of the world and unite them internationally against their internationally allied exploiters. At the same session of the National Executive Committee which resolved to sever all ties with the traitorous Second International, a resolution was adopted expressing the devout hope that a new International be formed "upon clear-cut revolutionary principles, the unqualified recognition of the antagonism of interests of the capitalist and wage-working class, and of the inevitable class struggle resulting therefrom, terminable only by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production by the revolutionary classconscious action of the working class." It pointed out that "in the columns of the kept press of this country there has been published a call alleged to have been issued by a Communist Congress at Moscow and aiming at the formation of a new International." It held the call suspect because it came through "so unclean a channel," but called upon the S.L.P. membership to keep itself in readiness to vote upon the matter of sending a delegation to Russia, should it prove genuine. It also authorized the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to act if swift action were called for.

In 1921 a delegation was sent to Moscow. The story of its adventurous journey constitutes an epic. However, due to the limitations of the present document, we are constrained to deal with it elsewhere.¹ The conditions of affiliation with the so-called Communist International, when they were subsequently formulated, were ludicrous in the light of the economic and political conditions of America, reflecting, as they did, the semi-feudal conditions of Russia. Although they were critically analyzed in the columns of the *Weekly People*, there was at no time any doubt concerning their rejection. The Party detected at an early date, and warned against, the incalculable potential evils inherent in the Jesuitic Communist principle that the end justifies the means. In the report of the National Executive Committee to the National Convention of 1924 this feature of

the Communist International was dilated upon. The report declared:

"Communism, as commonly understood and applied, has become a religion very much in the same sense that Catholicism is a religion. Members are required to take things on faith; they are taught to hate the 'infidel' rather than to acquire knowledge; they are admonished never to admit they have made a mistake, instead they are taught the 'tactic' of abusing and vilifying their opponents, especially if that opponent happens to be the S.L.P. One of their guiding principles is that the end justifies the means—exactly as with the militant branch of the Ultramontane machine; to sustain their faith whenever it may waver (as the strongest faiths may do) they are told to turn their gaze toward Moscow, precisely as the followers of Ultramontaniam are told to turn their faces toward Rome...."

The numerous times the American burlesque bolshevik performed a *volte-face*, culminating August, 1939, in their unblushing acceptance of the Hitler-Stalin pact with all its obscene implications, came as no surprise to the S.L.P. membership, forewarned as it was with vast experience and a penetrating insight into the anti-Marxism of the Third International.

Today there exists no international worthy of the name.

The Second International, revived as a sort of international "kaffee klatch," was literally trituated by the Second World War. Its miserable existence was doomed, however, years earlier when Nazi hoodlums routed its main prop, the German Social Democracy. Of all the working class or pseudo-working class organizations to be exterminated by Hitler, the Social Democracy was last. It awaited its doom almost passively as though paralyzed with terror. Then it groveled, groveled shamelessly. As its final infamy, its delegation to the Reichstag, on May 17, 1933, voted *confidence* in the Hitler regime! The Second Internationalists, who escaped the terror their treachery abetted, are today playing their familiar role as social-patriots in London and New York.

The Third International exists, as we have said, as an auxiliary of the Soviet Foreign Office, a caricature of internationalism and the pliant tool of Jesuitical Communism. The Marxist principle that Socialist tactics must conform to the economic and sociological topography of the land, utterly incomprehensible to the Kremlin autocrats, is rejected for tactics that conform to the momentary exigencies of the Stalinist bureaucracy—as it plays its dishonorable role in the game of international imperialist politics.

The so-called Fourth, or Trotskyite, International-

¹*Weekly People*, April 26, 1941.

al is the product of internal Bolshevik schism, and likewise reflects the backwardness of Russia. Amœba-like, the Fourth International grows by subdividing, its several component parts pursuing tactics not unlike those of the Anarcho-Communists. Instead of an association of Socialist parties, each working in accordance with the conditions at hand for the overthrow of their respective ruling classes, it is an aggregation of conspiratorial opportunists whose tactics vary as to their opportunism and range from collaboration with the Stalinists to downright faking in the trade unions.

The parties in America which were affiliated with one or the other of the self-styled internationals were recently compelled formally to sever their relations or suffer the surrender of their membership lists under the provisions of the outrageous Voorhis Act which became effective January 15, 1941. This law presents new obstacles to the organization of a bona fide Socialist International even if it were otherwise practicable. The nucleus of such an International exists, it is true, in the S.L.P. organizations of the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain and a group in South America who base their tactics on De Leonist principles. However, under prevailing world conditions and in view of the imminence of social cataclysm, plans in this direction are untimely. Every ounce of energy that can be mustered is urgently needed to spread the Socialist Industrial Union program of proletarian emancipation at home. And surely no more effective aid and inspiration could be given to our class brothers everywhere than to settle matters with the American plunderbund, the most powerful group of exploiters in the world.

Notwithstanding the truly formidable obstacles to the formation of a bona fide Marxist International, there is no occasion for pessimism. The spirit of internationalism still lives in the breasts of the earth's disinherited. The howls of jingos and inflammatory incitations of governments have failed utterly in arousing in them a hatred for other peoples. Even in the midst of bloody war, the workers of the so-called democracies evince more pity than venom for the masses under the Nazi-Fascist heel.

And among the classconscious workers, of whom there is an ever increasing number, national differences and antagonisms have completely vanished. They know that workingmen have no country, that national interests are capitalist interests, and national "honor," and national "defense," capitalist shibboleths. They are citizens of no nation! They are citizens of the world!

Internationalism will finally reach its full efflorescence through their efforts. For the nation, a creation of capitalist society, will disappear as such with the advent of Socialism. In place of nations with antagonistic interests, there will be Socialist Republics with common interests, federated for the free exchange of goods and culture, under an International Socialist Commonwealth. Beneath the magnificent panoply of this free world, man will rise to his full stature, economically free, his heart unburdened of baneful national hatreds, his mind emancipated from the shackles of philistine nationalism. With the overthrow of bourgeois rule mankind comes into the magnificent heritage denied it through centuries of travail—a world of affluence and cooperation and peace. Speed the day!

THEOCRACY or DEMOCRACY?

(Continued from page 17.)

merely tried it to shame his fawning and flattering courtiers who insisted that he had the almighty power to do so! The class struggle is as elemental in capitalist society as the waves of the ocean are in nature. And finally there is to be noted Mr. Lippmann's bold injection of "religion" into the arena of social and political struggles. Not that it is not already there, though it is disguised or thinly veiled. But Mr. Lippmann strips the subject of its pretense.

Finally, Mr. Lippmann assures his readers that Mr. Roosevelt's declaration "is an event in modern history, comparable, so to speak, with the Communist Manifesto of 1848"! This, too, is significant. Mr. Lippmann knows that the Communist Manifesto was a challenge hurled at capitalist society, a challenge which shook it to its foundation. Hopefully, he apparently conceives the President's declaration as a counter-challenge which shall put an end to the movement of revolutionary Socialism, and for all time preserve capitalist society; a challenge which shall terminate the class struggle, crush the spirit of the workers, and mold their minds to suit the needs of the Feudo-Industrial Theocracy toward which he, Mr. Roosevelt, and their clerical and plutocratic allies are straining. But the working class has still to be heard from. And upon that fact Mr. Lippmann and those whom he serves may well ponder!

III.

Mr. Lippmann was not the only one who responded so enthusiastically to Mr. Roosevelt's bid for theocracy. Priests, ministers and rabbis sing the praises of Mr. Roosevelt, though some of them might well weep if they value their particular creed and separate propertied institutions. For in a theocracy there is room for no dissenters. Theocracy knows but one god, one church, one creed. The voluble and effervescent Dorothy Thompson follows hard upon Mr. Lippmann's heels¹—less subtle, more evangelical. She heartily joins Messrs. Roosevelt and Lippmann in their professions of faith—cheerily she agrees that Mr. Roosevelt's idea of democracy as the child of religion is sound, and that, contrariwise, the "current concept" that "democracy was predominantly secular and materialistic" is unsound and wrong in principle. We are getting somewhere very

fast! If democracy, that is, democratic government, is not secular, it surely is not of this earth! It must, then, be classed with things sacred, it must be something religious, something instituted directly by God and entrusted to the safe-keeping of his vicars on earth! Miss Thompson chirps that "The conception of man as a child of God . . . is the basis of democracy"! And triumphantly she finally announces that Judaism and Christianity are to be equated to modern democracy, since they share the same "spiritual" concepts! Jewish theocracy, for instance, equated to Jeffersonian Democracy! Selah!

The "secular" columnists and their "non-secular" fellow-workers all agree that democracy must be of the deity, by the deity, for the deity! But most of them are a little bolder and more specific: They insist (as did Bishop Manning) that ours is a *Christian* civilization, that this is a *Christian* democracy, that *Christ* must be the fountainhead of government, and so forth. It is significant that a month later, from the city of Washington again, there came another announcement, this time proclaiming the initiating of a move for putting God in the government! Joseph Corrigan, rector of the Catholic University of America, announced a "national crusade for God in Government." Among other things, American Catholics are invited (presumably pending the superimposing of the deity on our form of government, with or without Constitutional amendment) to pledge themselves to a defense of "the republic against atheistic [!] propaganda, to maintain respect for *rightly* constituted authority and obedience to lawful administrators . . ."

Apparently the Roman Catholic political machine is going to lose no time or opportunity in following Mr. Roosevelt's lead. And as the self-proclaimed vicars of God on earth, the papacy, i.e., Ultramontanism, or political Romanism, may be expected to insist on the right to determine what and who are the "rightly constituted authority," and when "obedience" must be rendered, and to whom. Nor can we doubt the nature of the interpretations which the papacy will render of "God's will." Ten centuries of almost unrelieved social darkness, slavery and human misery, warn us as to what to expect if once again theocracy returns to afflict us.

There may be some who would argue that these phrases of God or Christ in Government, etc., are

¹New York *Herald Tribune*, January 9, 1939.

mere figures of speech, that they are not to be taken seriously, for how, we are asked, can God be made our earthly ruler? Of course, to those who ask such a question, "God" is either a myth or a pure abstraction, having no reality and therefore no influence on affairs, except as all myths may in some degree influence them. The answer is that these are not mere figures of speech, that these people mean exactly what they say, though they may have differing concepts as to *how* God is to be put in government, or *how* "religion" is to manifest itself as the fountainhead of government. For "God in Government" is no fantastic concept—it had reality once, and repeatedly, and it may conceivably assume reality anew. To be sure, difficulties might be encountered in attempting to confer with God in matters of practical details, for although Moses and other ancient prophets claim to have spoken with God, nowadays such claims would be met with a good deal of scepticism and derision. And even Moses never saw God face to face, as the Bible plainly tells us—he was only allowed to have a peep at God's back! ("I will take mine hand away [said the Lord Jehovah to Moses], and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen."—Exodus XXXIII, 23.) Thus, as Lincoln observed, while "there is no contending against the will of God. . . . still there is some difficulty in ascertaining and applying it to particular cases." And so God's vicars on earth must necessarily speak for God—even for "God in Government"—and these vicars must, of course, consult God, ascertain his will, and apply it or convey it to the governed.

And who are God's vicars? They are the popes, priests, and all their kind, and what *they* declare is God's will is, *ipso facto*, the will of God! Which is to say that democratic government, amended as proposed by Messrs. Roosevelt & Co., would become a government of and by the priesthood, and (if they are lucky) for the ruled, dumb multitude. Fantastic—an absurd notion? Not at all. This seeming *reductio ad absurdum* is in fact theocracy. It flourished unconditionally among the ancient Hebrews up to the time they took unto themselves kings. Thereafter it was a theocracy tempered by divine kingship. It prevailed in ancient Rome, and for centuries it was exercised by the Roman Catholic Church, again tempered and modified by the monarchy and feudal class privileges generally. It had a belated efflorescence in Calvinism at Geneva, and emerged in modified form in Puritan England; in Scandinavia it had a brief renaissance; from Old England it became transplanted to New England, and the theocracy of New England remains to this day one of the most complete, and at the same time one of the most hor-

rible, examples of theocracy. Given the right setting, and a dull, uninstructed, complacent and compliant working class, it may even now be successfully reintroduced. Certainly, the advocates of theocracy (of course, they have nice euphemisms for the more brazen term "theocracy") are sparing no effort to establish the theocratic state. Gradually they are advancing toward their goal with no serious obstructions encountered thus far. To paraphrase Thomas Jefferson, those who favor theocracy are "working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing their noiseless step, like a thief, over the field of society and its institutions, until Freedom and democratic government shall have been lost, and power of government is consolidated into a Twentieth Century College of the Priesthood, with a Pontifex Maximus as the supreme arbiter and ruler."

IV.

"The investigation of terms," said Epictetus, "is the beginning of education." Let us, then, investigate the term "Theocracy." The Standard Dictionary defines it as "a form of government in which God is recognized as the supreme civil ruler of the state, and his laws are taken as the statute-book of the kingdom." William Warburton, famous eighteenth century theologian, in his work "The Divine Legislation of Moses Demonstrated, Etc.," wrote:

"Thus, the Almighty becoming their king, *in as real a sense as he was their God*, the republic of the Israelites was properly a Theocracy."

George Park Fisher, nineteenth century American churchman, wrote in his book, "Beginnings of Christianity":

"The Kingdom of God existed at the outset in a national form, in the form of a theocratic state."

The Encyclopedia Britannica defines Theocracy as follows:

"The rule of God, from *deos*, god, and *kratos*, to rule, a term applied to a form of government or to a state ruled by such a form of government in which God or the divine power is looked to *as the source* of all civil power, and the divine commandments regarded as the laws of the community. The typical example of such a state is that of the Jews till the establishment of the kingship under Saul."

These should suffice. We now have a fairly clear picture of what is understood by theocracy. Likewise we know now what they mean who insist that God

must be put in government, that we must have a "Christian Democracy," and that this is a "Christian Civilization." Compare the phrase in the Britannica definition: "God or the divine power is looked to as the source of all civil power," with President Roosevelt's phrase, "... religion... is the source of... democracy..." Unless Mr. Roosevelt was speaking loosely (which the important occasion would seem to preclude), or unless he was merely paying "a conventional tribute to religion" (which Mr. Lippmann vigorously, and rightly we believe, denies), can there be any doubt that the President had in mind a theocratic state when he spoke as he did? Considering his definite language, his measured words, and the trend of the times, not to mention the fact of a world in chaos and threatened with complete anarchy from which there can be but two forms of escape, Socialism (the Industrial Union Government) or a "benevolent" Industrial Feudalism—considering all this, we cannot doubt the real and sinister meaning of the Presidential pronouncement.

As we have seen, theocracy naturally, *rationaly*, resolves itself into priest rule. In our modern consolidated, and increasingly homogeneous society, this in turn translates itself into rule by the most powerful, most perfectly and universally organized church body. At present, at least, this means the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, or the Papacy, for short. This conclusion is no product of a fevered mind, or of hysteria, nor is it the conclusion of a ranting anti-Catholic crusader. It is a conclusion inescapable from the present premises. But of this more later. Theocracy has undoubtedly performed a needed function in undeveloped societies, or during unsettled and anarchic periods in history. And it cannot be denied that it has even served as seed carrier of progress. That it has been a heavy and a bloody price for mankind to pay is also true. Whether the service rendered fully justified the heavy and cruel cost is a question that cannot be considered here. We are here primarily concerned with the true nature of theocracy, and its possible application to the development of society in the future—in all probability the near future. And the true nature of theocracy can be best ascertained from a study of its operation in the past, and the evil fruits it bore, even though it may also have carried some seeds of progress. The verdict of enlightened mankind, however, with respect to theocracy or priestly governmental rule has been aptly summed up by Daniel Defoe in his well known lines:

"And of all plagues with which mankind are curst,
Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst."

And the echo reverberates through the corridors of time: "The worst!"

V.

In this brief sketch neither time nor space permits of an exhaustive treatment of the subject of theocracy around which so vast a body of literature has grown. Among the earliest manifestations of theocracy, however, we note particularly the ancient Jewish theocracy, which has also served as the inspiration for every succeeding theocracy in history. The record of that theocracy may be found largely in the Old Testament. Here we have presented an almost perfect example of that form of absolute rule. To the modern rational mind it seems incredible that for so many centuries a whole people would permit itself to be priest-ridden to such a degree. If we are to believe the Bible account (as at any rate all faithful Christians and Jews do), it was a rule unsurpassed in cruelty, superstition, priestly deceit and trickery. The "supreme ruler" (Jehovah) faithfully reflects the ruling theocrats, the high priests and priesthood generally. Undoubtedly the tribes of ancient Israel were wild and unruly barbarians; undoubtedly they had to be ruled with an iron rod. And the god of such a primitive and savage people necessarily was a cruel and savage god. Most of us are familiar with the slaughter of innocents perpetrated by the bloody and vindictive Jehovah—that is to say, by the Jewish Theocracy. Among the numerous accounts of such bloody slaughters of innocents the siege of Jericho is perhaps best remembered, since the fall of Jericho's walls has become illustrative of the collapse of all fortified towns through the ages. We are told that they (the conquering "children of Israel" under Joshua's leadership) "utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword." (Joshua VI, 21.) As complete a slaughter as ever was, one calculated to make our modern Hitlers turn green with envy! Out of all the inhabitants of Jericho only a common prostitute and her family (and friends gathered in her house) were spared! And that was because she (the harlot Rahab) had played the part of "Fifth Columnist" to Joshua's spies that were sneaked into Jericho! And good care was taken to secure the precious metals of Jericho, and to see to it that they were turned over to the conquering Jehovah—that is, to his agents, of course, the priesthood! As the story goes:

"And they [Joshua and his fellow marauders] burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein; *only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and*



Last Scene in an Austrian Tragic Drama

Crozier and sword, after long separation, again united in a tender embrace. Universal joy! Curtain drops.

—Kikeriki, Vienna, 1871.

of iron, they put into the treasure house of the Lord.”! (Joshua VI, 24.)

As reported in the Old Testament, the ancient Jewish theocratic state was formed after Moses had had repeated conferences with Jehovah, from whom the former received the basic laws and commandments graven on tablets, and although even Moses was not permitted to view the face of Jehovah, he apparently managed to secure a pretty good idea of how he looked, which, oddly enough, turned out to be the way human beings looked. At any rate, here was a body of law, a set of commandments, codes of morals and ethics, etc., etc., directly formulated by God for the use of his chosen children—surely awesome enough to insure their constant and universal observance. Alas! Man proved, unwittingly perhaps, but rather conclusively, that in crises or moments of excitement and ecstasy, or when on pillage and murder bent, God’s personally framed laws, and

indeed God himself, became what they really were, the creations of man himself—God, fashioned in man’s image; the laws, etc., the products of man’s genius or fancy! For, as Moses scoldingly told them: “Thou art a stiff-necked people.”! (Deuteronomy IX, 6.)

Nevertheless, this theocracy flourished, and somehow (despite all the misery and sufferings of the masses) managed to leave an indelible impress upon the history of our civilization. And, as we have seen, this theocracy persisted until the Jews decided that their priesthood wasn’t doing so good for them, and began to grumble and clamor for kings saying:

“Nay, but we will have a king over us; That we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.” (I Samuel, VIII, 19-20.)

And so, like it or not, Jehovah—that is to say, Jehovah’s executive officers—had to share the power with kings who, of course, had to be anointed of the Lord, so that the kingship might stick! And thus theocracy became modified by the divine rule of kings—the rule of king-priest or priest-king. Sometimes more of one or less of the other. As Buckle said of a not greatly dissimilar situation ages later: “In every nation in Europe the power of the clergy at an early period bore an inverse ratio to the power of the sovereign.” (Buckle: Miscellaneous Works, I.) Or, to paraphrase the irreverent language of Samuel Butler (“Hudibras” Butler), the Jewish autocracy presented itself as—

“Cleric before and Lay behind;
A lawful linsey-woolsey brother,
Half of one order, half another!”

*

Sir James Frazer, in his fascinating study of magic and primitive religion, “The Golden Bough,” observes:

“The union of a royal title with priestly duties was common in ancient Italy and Greece. At Rome and in other cities of Latium there was a priest called the Sacrificial King or King of the Sacred Rites, and his wife bore the title of Queen of the Sacred Rites. . . . At Rome the tradition was that the Sacrificial King had been appointed after the abolition of the monarchy in order to offer the sacrifices which before had been offered by the kings. A similar view as to the origin of the priestly kings appears to have prevailed in Greece. . . . This combination of priestly function with royal authority is familiar to every one. Asia Minor, for example, was the seat of various

great religious capitals peopled by thousands of sacred slaves, and ruled by pontiffs who wielded at once temporal and spiritual authority, like the popes of medieval Rome. Such priest-ridden cities were Zela and Pessinus. Teutonic kings, again, in the old heathen days seem to have stood in the position, and to have exercised the powers, of high priests. The Emperors of China offered public sacrifices the details of which were regulated by the ritual books. The King of Madagascar was high priest of the realm. . . . And the dim light of tradition reveals a similar union of temporal and spiritual power, of royal and priestly duties, in the kings of that delightful region of Central America whose ancient capital, now buried under the rank growth of the tropical forest, is marked by the stately and mysterious ruins of Palenque.

"When we have said that the ancient kings were commonly priests also, we are far from having exhausted the religious aspect of their office. In those days the divinity that hedges a king was no empty form of speech, but the expression of a sober belief. Kings were revered, in many cases not merely as priests, that is, as intercessors between man and God, but as themselves Gods, able to bestow upon the subjects and worshippers those blessings which are commonly supposed to be beyond the reach of mortals, and are sought, if at all, only by prayer and sacrifice offered to superhuman and invisible beings." Etc.

VI.

However, the Jewish theocracy at last came to grief. The growth of the Roman Empire eventually brought that about, though, of course, the fall of the one, and the rise of the other, resulted from the action and interplay of economic forces before which even Jehovah, in all his almighty power, withered!

Although, as we have seen, ancient Greece and Rome were afflicted with a ruling priesthood, and the train of evils which goes with it, the idea of democratic rule (despite slavery and other qualifying factors) had progressed too far for the successful maintenance of a typical theocratic rule. Yet, the minds of even the most enlightened of men were ruled to a large extent by supernatural fears and superstitions (freely traded on by the priesthood), and men were frequently put to death for provoking the wrath of the deity, or for failing to manifest the proper respect for the gods. Socrates was accused of such disrespect. In his own words, it was charged "That Socrates is a doer of evil, and corrupter of the youth, and he does not believe in the gods of the State, and

has other new divinities of his own. . . ." Socrates denied the charge, denied also that he was "an atheist simply, and a teacher of atheism." And yet, even the wise Socrates was ruled by such superstitions as believing in, and permitting himself to be governed, for instance, by the verdicts of the Oracle of Delphi!

Aristotle, in his "Politics," describes the function and the character of the priests, and their official place in the society of Athens, as he visualized it:

"Of the classes enumerated there remain only the priests, and the manner in which their office is to be regulated is obvious [!]. No husbandman or mechanic should be appointed to it; *for the gods should receive honors from the citizens only.* . . . It is be-
seeming that the worship of the gods should be duly performed, and also a rest provided in their service for those who from age have given up active life—to the old men of those two classes [i.e., "warriors and the councillors"] should be assigned the duties of the priesthood."

In Rome similarly the priesthood attained high rank and exclusive privileges, exercising a strong influence and wielding great powers. With the genius of the Romans for organization, it is natural that functions of priestcraft should have been highly organized. According to Theodor Mommsen, in his "History of Rome," theoretically "those who had business with a god, resorted to the god, and not to the priest." But, adds Mommsen, "it was no easy matter withal to hold converse with a god [!]. The god had his own way of speaking, which was intelligible only to one who was acquainted with it. He who did rightly understand it knew not only how to ascertain, but also how to manage, the will of the god, *and even in case of need to overreach or to constrain him*"! And so a special class of "professors," skilled in the arts of managing and reproving gods, was organized in special "colleges" which, Mommsen observes, "have been often, but erroneously, confounded with the priesthoods." The function of the priesthoods was that of conducting the worship before a specific divinity, whereas the colleges "were charged with the preservation of traditional rules regarding those more general religious observances, the proper fulfilment of which implied a certain amount of information, *and rendered it necessary for the state in its own interest to provide for the faithful transmission of that information.*"

In the course of time this college of *pontifices*, exercising supreme authority in religious matters, became extremely powerful. Its head, the *Pontifex Maximus*, was as powerful in his exercise of religious authority as is the Pope in the Catholic Church to this

day. But, obedient to its law of being, the college and its head (aside from the priesthood generally) encroached more and more upon the secular power until, finally, on one religious pretext or other, acts of the State were overruled or ignored. "Taking no thought as to the consequences," says Mommsen,¹ "and unmindful of the wise example of their ancestors, it was allowed to become an established rule, that the skilled colleges of priests were entitled to cancel any act of state, whether law or election, on the pretext of religious informality."

With so much power, and after the fashion of the priesthood of all times and climes, the business of public worship became a veritable racket. Mommsen tells us that the tremendous increase in the tax levied to defray the cost of public worship was a necessary result of the increase in the number of its gods and its temples, which in turn led, says Mommsen, to the priests' being "permitted to exercise a very injurious influence on public affairs." And Mommsen's shrewd observation: "The Roman world of gods, as we have already indicated, *was a higher counterpart, an ideal reflection, of the earthly Rome, in which the little and the great were alike reproduced with painstaking exactness,*" reminds us of Marx's pithy comment: "The religious world is but the reflex of the real world. . . . The religious reflex of the real world can. . . only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and to nature."²

Basic to all the ancient theocracies, or systems of priestly rule, is the fear entertained by the votaries of material damage being done to him by his gods—to his crops, his property, or to his personal physical safety generally, or that of his household. Hence the constant need of propitiating his deity—that is to say, the priests supposedly representing the deity. Hence, further, the never-ending material offerings to the priesthood or the church, a practice which in later times led to the impositions of tithes and in civilized countries to this day in the levying on citizens—believers or not—of church taxes. As a matter of personal experience, it was the occasion for the present writer registering a violent objection when, years ago in Denmark, on a taxbill handed him he discovered that a fraction of the tax demanded was set aside for the support of the Lutheran state church! Protests, however, were in vain—though in one's youthful ardor the church was condemned and contemned and considered a great menace to

progress, the young rebel still had to pay for its upkeep! As an example of primitive levy of tax on votaries for the benefit of the deity (or, to be realistic, for the benefit of his fat-bellied priesthood), Frazer records the following:

"In the West African kingdom of Congo there was a supreme pontiff called Chitome or Chitombe, whom the Negroes regarded as a god on earth and all powerful in heaven. Hence before they would taste the new crops they offered him the first-fruits, fearing that manifold misfortune would befall them if they broke this rule. . . . And if he [Chitome] were to die a natural death, they thought that the world would perish, and the earth, which he alone sustained by his power and merit, would immediately be annihilated."!

Sir James does *not* record that Chitome was in any way related to the amazing "Father Divine," though one wonders! Certainly both have had the identical idea, and seemingly with material results equally pleasant and personally beneficial!

VII.

The outstanding example of a ruthless, though invariably tempered or contested, theocracy is that of the Roman Catholic Church. The vastness of the subject, its many ramifications, permits of scarcely more than passing notice. Moreover, its history is generally known, though its grasping for secular power, and its actual exercise thereof, is either disputed by its upholders, or the facts concerning same have been, and are being, so befogged through casuistry and perversions of the truth that one lifetime would seem too short to clear away the fog and place the facts clearly before us! Yet it is incontestable that during hundreds of years a fierce struggle was waged between the so-called spiritual and temporal powers, and always over questions that were anything but spiritual. The cruelty of those charged with suppressing the slightest sign of heresy or defiance of the papacy, defies description—and the reason for suppression of heresy was, again, the purely material. An institution claiming direct relation with God, whose supreme head is considered the personal representative of God, and who is supposed to be infallible—who, in fact, claims infallibility in all matters of religious dogma, and *in effect* claims it in all other matters affecting its power and material welfare, this institution cannot tolerate dissent or difference of opinion. Blind obedience, in however crafty and circumambient manner exacted, is essential to the continued existence and prosperity of the institution. And the papacy is as fabulously

¹"History of Rome," I.

²"Capital," chapter I.



"Away with you—leave my pile alone!"

(Caricature on profit-greedy clericalism.)

—By Andre Gill ("La lune rousse," 1878.)

wealthy as it is incredibly powerful, despite reverses during the centuries it has maintained itself, though relatively its power and influence bear no comparison to its power and influence during the thousand years when virtually it held supreme sway.

The arrogance, the insolence, and the corruption of the Catholic Church throughout the ages are understandable. Through a set of historical circumstances which rendered just such an institution indispensable to the ruling classes, the church established itself as the supreme arbiter between man and his deity. Given the prevailing superstition, and once securely ensconced behind a wall of mysticism, ignorance, tradition and precedent, and resting firmly on substantial material possessions, it is natural that those entrusted with its management should have placed, and continue to place, the church above every other human institution and every other earthly consideration. Once accept the pretensions of the church,

the pretensions of its supreme bishop as being God's vicar on earth, there is no escaping the logic of the situation. Those in charge of the church being human, they are naturally subject to the identical weaknesses and vices besetting all humankind. Power corrupts those wielding it, especially when power is unchecked. Extreme wealth in a class society is corrupting as is idleness even when disguised as the "idleness" of performing useless or foolish tasks. Mummery begets greater mummery until it logically becomes hypocrisy. There is no body of men, however good, no institution, however altruistically founded originally, that in a class society can withstand the corrupting and demoralizing influences of unlimited power, immense wealth, and idleness or obviously useless or foolish labor.

Countless examples of such corruption can be cited, or examples of the bloody cruelty which results from a vested interest being attacked, or placed in

danger of attack. The Crusades constitute an example of the inhuman cruelty, the terrible fanaticism and the ruthless slaughter, which may result from the fact of such an institution's existence as the Catholic Church. It would be begging the question to argue that any other body similarly constituted would have acted similarly. Nor will it do to claim extenuating circumstances, since an institution claiming divine origin and universality, which insists that it is unchangeably the same, now as in the past, may not also at the same time invoke the allowances made in the case of human institutions less pretentious. Those who accept the church for what it is, that is, a human agency which, it may be granted, has served the cause of civilization in some respects, but which in most respects has served reaction and promoted the tendencies that make for the stultification of the human intellect, and the degradation of the human spirit—those who so view the church are, of course, less concerned with condemning it for cruelties and errors committed after the manner and in the spirit of the dark centuries which witnessed these, than they are concerned with exposing its reactionary character and influence *now*, at a time when the fate of modern civilization hangs in the balance, and when the power of the church for evil, as a tool of the darkest reaction, needs to be emphasized as never before.

If, therefore, we point to its cruel past, and its essential identity with other similar agencies of a class rule society (capitalism) otherwise condemned before the bar of history, and by the enlightened judgment of civilized man, it is, of course, because such questions concern politics and economics, because they are questions dealing with the realizable happy future of man, and with considerations which generally have nothing to do with religion or theological dogmas as such. But, as Daniel De Leon pointed out, the moment a religion becomes organized as a creed, it thereby inescapably becomes a political force, and a political force is simply the reflex of economic power, to be dealt with as the strictly secular matters they are.

The second outstanding Crusade waged by the church, and to be noted here as a sample of the church's true character, was the slaughter perpetrated on the "heretical" sect known as the Albigenses during the 12th and 13th centuries. To a modern mind it seems incredible (or perhaps one should say that it seemed incredible up to the time the Nazi and Fascist bandits began their slaughter of the civilian populations of great European cities)—it seems incredible that any power, any organization, and especially a body claiming to be religious, could have

been guilty of such savage cruelties, such nameless atrocities, such insane fury. And yet, the Albigenses (or the Catharist sects) had been guilty merely of differing from the doctrines of the church, and of questioning the authority of the Pope. Being peace-loving, simple people, living in the beautiful Provençal valley of Southeastern France, their only wish was to be left alone. In retaliation for the death of one of the Pope's emissaries who had used the then dreaded and paralyzing power of excommunication to render submissive the "heretics," and to coerce the secular power which in the main supported the heretical Albigenses, Pope Innocent III ordered the preaching of the Crusade against them. Countless thousands were massacred, the brilliant civilization of the province of Provence was destroyed, and those who escaped massacre during the Pope's "holy" crusade, were finished off subsequently by the implacable and thorough inquisition. It is said that in one day 200 Catharist heretics were burned by order of the church. The savage fury of the papacy knew no bounds.

The suffering and martyrdom of the Albigenses on the one hand, and the infamy of the church in this crusade on the other hand, have been vividly and movingly told by Eugene Sue in his masterpiece "The Iron Pincers, A Tale of the Albigensian Crusades," beautifully translated by Daniel De Leon. The chief instrument of the Pope, his military arm, was one Simon of Montfort, who in every respect measured up to papal requirements—fanatical believer, extraordinarily able, and incredibly cruel. Of him a song in Sue's story, "Song on the Butchery of Beziers," said (in De Leon's translation):

"Fall to, Montfort! On the march!
His Holiness has issued the order.
To Carcassonne!
Kill, pillage, burn the heretics, as we have done
At Chasseneuil and Beziers!
To Carcassonne!"

The Crusade against the Albigenses is but one page in the many bloody chapters of the church, a crusade which, as stated, had for its sole avowed purpose suppression of a dissent from the church's dogma. The papacy, trembling at the thought of losing its secular power and material wealth, did not hesitate to drown in a sea of blood this relatively insignificant defiance of the Pope's authority.

The interdict and the ban of excommunication were the means and dreaded powers by which the papacy secured submission to its decrees. The instances were countless of the wielding of this terrible

power—terrible, that is, in view of the prevailing superstition, and the general dependence upon the church—culturally, spiritually and in all matters relating to such basic factors as marriage, birth and death, etc.

As we have seen, it was wielded with terrible effect by Pope Innocent III in the case of the Albigenses, and the same Pope applied it in England in 1208 during the reign of King John with whom he had quarreled, the Pope having gone so far as to set aside the rights and prerogatives of the king in the matter of appointing the Primate of the Church in England. Disregarding the king's *legal* act of appointing as Primate one John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, Pope Innocent III *illegally* appointed one Stephen Langton instead. The king defied the Pope, who retaliated by laying upon England the dreaded interdict. "All worship save that of a few privileged orders, all administration of the Sacraments save that of private baptism, ceased over the length and breadth of the country: the church-bells were silent, the dead lay unburied on the ground."¹ Subsequently the ban was extended to include excommunication of the king, who "was now formally cut off from the pale of the church." A king excommunicated could no longer command obedience from his Christian subjects. Here we have an outstanding example of the exercise of theocratic powers by the papacy, a power exercised again and again. Eventually the Pope prevailed and historian Green records the king's surrender as follows: "On the 15th of May he [King John] knelt before the legate Pandulf, surrendered his kingdom to the Roman See, took it back again as a tributary vassal, swore fealty and did liege homage to the Pope." Shakespeare describes the hocus-pocus of King John surrendering his kingdom and receiving it back in these words:

King John:

Thus have I yielded up into your hand
The circle of my glory.

Pandulf:

Take again (Giving King John the crown)
From this my hand, as holding of the Pope,
Your sovereign greatness and authority.²

Later the struggle was renewed, but then it was between the barons (who meanwhile had wrung "the great charter" from the king) on the one side, and the allies, the Pope and the king, on the other. The Pope hurled his excommunications at the barons and at the London burghers, who defied the ecclesiastic

thunder as much as they contested the king's rule. "The ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the Pope," they said. But they reckoned without priestcraft and the casuistry which never fail to find that secular matters become matters of religious concern whenever it suits the purpose of the church.

It is not a question here of whether the king was good or bad, or whether the Pope was bad or good. We know the king was a bad egg, a murderous scoundrel ripe for hanging. We know that Innocent III was an able, though ruthless, prelate who (as we saw in the Albigensian "crusade") extended no more mercy to his enemies than did King John to his. The point to note is that the Pope exercised temporal, i.e., theocratic power, using the so-called spiritual power of the church to make the temporal power effective, regardless of the cost in blood and human suffering. And once again theocracy triumphed.

In the year 1266 Pope Clement IV laid the interdict on Denmark because the king had refused to yield to the Danish Primate in matters purely secular. Here, as before and since, we observe the same pattern: An unscrupulous and ruthless papacy plunging a whole people into suffering and misery, many being killed in the contest, because the Pope's supremacy over the secular power was refused recognition by the king and the ruling class generally, outside the ecclesiastic body. The pretensions of the church were expressed in these words by the Danish Primate, the archbishop Jakob Erlandson:

"Just as the spiritual takes precedence over the secular, so the law of the church stands above the secular law, and if disputes arise between the two the lesser must yield to the greater, the secular must yield to the spiritual."

This constitutes a classic expression of the pretensions of theocracy of all times, and wherever it has reared its head. In the cases cited, we have concrete examples of what "God in Government" really means in practice; we have clear demonstrations of the practical working out of the Rooseveltian dictum that the source of "democratic government" (any government) is to be found in religion.

The pretensions of the papacy have not lessened. Read carefully the words of the 13th Century Danish archbishop and compare them with the current pronouncements of the Pope and all the lesser churchmen, and we shall find that they differ very little in language, and not at all in the authoritarian claims put forth by the church today—put forth, sometimes cautiously and indirectly, sometimes boldly and unreservedly, depending on occasion and circumstance. Of these claims we shall note more later.

¹"History of the English People," by J. R. Green.

²"King John," Act V (1).

VIII.

The next great theocracy to be reviewed here briefly is that which is, or was, based on the Calvinistic doctrine. Though one of the most ruthless examples of theocratic rule, it was nevertheless the one which more than any other single intellectual factor aided in promoting the democratic spirit. However paradoxical this may sound, it is easy enough to understand. Calvinism, in its essence austere and individualistic, more than any other religious movement reflected the interests of the rising bourgeoisie, and the unfolding tendencies of the developing capitalism. Spiritually, Calvinism was as effective as Lutheranism in its challenge and denunciation of the corruption, pomp and sensuousness of the Catholic Church especially as the latter presented itself at the time of the renaissance, when it sank to the lowest level in its long history. The Catholic Church physically or structurally reflected feudalism—the Pope corresponded to the emperor, the Cardinals to the kings and dukes, the Bishops to the barons and the lower feudal nobility, and so forth. With the decline and collapse of feudalism, the church structure, and all the traditions and practices adhering to it, more and more appeared as the reverse of von Chamisso's hero¹—the latter found himself a substance without a shadow, whereas the church found itself a shadow without substance. The globe-encircling enterprises of the rising class in society, conflicted with the spirit and conceptions of the church. The scientific discoveries stimulated by the opening up of the rest of the world played havoc with the naïve church conceptions of the universe; the indolent life led by the clergy and the higher nobility interfered with commerce and manufacture—they were regarded as wasteful and parasitical by the bourgeoisie; the multitudinous holidays of the church during the feudal era were incompatible with the hustle and bustle of the growing commercial and manufacturing interests. The wage slaves had to work hard and continuously, or competition would undo the master who felt he had to observe the ancient customs. Under sheer economic pressure most of these holidays were discarded, although those remaining were observed as rigidly as any of the old ones.

Into this new scheme of things Protestantism generally, but Calvinism particularly, fitted as perfectly as Catholicism formerly had fitted into feudalism. That the Catholic Church resisted and fought these tendencies we know. It was a long time before the

church as a body reconciled itself to capitalism—indeed, it can be said that it never really did so fully, though in practice, at least, it necessarily fell in line. Just as the structure of the Catholic Church remained essentially feudalistic, so its spirit has remained essentially medieval. It has always remained anti-capitalist except in so far as its immediate or prevailing property interests dictated a policy of conformity and acquiescence. It is no accident that today, and in increasing measure, the Catholic Church outspokenly condemns capitalism—not class rule, nor the subjection of the wage slaves to exploitation, but capitalism as it has prevailed until comparatively recent times. Nor is it an accident that the church naturally gravitates toward totalitarianism—industrial feudalism—and the economic serfdom which will be the lot of the workers under fascism, or feudo-industrialism, if—the gods forbend!—it wins out in the final contest. For it will readily be able to fit itself into the social structure of that industrial feudal regime so rapidly unfolding before our eyes.

Calvinism, then, was the spiritual translation of the creed of rising capitalism. And to the extent that the so-called religious wars involved contests between Catholicism and Protestantism, to that extent did they simply constitute struggles between feudalism and capitalism with, as we know, the latter eventually triumphant. It was, therefore, as pointed out, natural that Calvinism should have served as promoter of democracy—bourgeois democracy, to be sure. Calvin himself was a ruthless, strong-willed personality. Considering the age in which he lived, and the spirit of the times, he was probably no worse than the majority of his kind, but to us today he appears as utterly brutal and unfeeling, as murderous toward his victims as any of the Catholic theocrats who had preceded him. Though started as a rebellion against a corrupt body (the papacy) with theocratic pretensions (and theocratic rule where circumstances favored it), and although it expressly disavowed theocracy, Calvinism rapidly developed into one of the most cruel and relentless sects with theocratic aspirations. Professor Douglas Nobbs, in an interesting study of Calvinism, discusses at great length this fact so illustrative of De Leon's dictum that a religion becomes a political force when it organizes into a specific creed. "The Calvinists," says Professor Nobbs, "hated the consequences of and not the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* [each man's land is his religion]; for they did believe that the subjects were to accept religion of their ruler, provided that he was a member of the true church [i.e., a Calvinist]!" (Italics mine.) Again: "Loyalty to the ruler was loyalty to God so long as the

¹"Peter Schlemihl wunderbare Geschichte," by Adelbert von Chamisso.

sovereign power followed the divine will." And who was to determine what was the divine will? Why, the Calvinist ministers! Professor Nobbs quotes a 17th Century Calvinist commentator, Antonius Walaeus, as denying "that there was any appeal from an ecclesiastical sentence to the ruler..." And finally the following characteristic theocratic equivocation:

"Even collegialism...taught in effect that the church was free of the ruler but the Christian ruler was bound to serve the church. It set aside political interference as a tyranny but demanded political aid to render its own tyranny more effective."¹

IX.

John Calvin (who was born in Picardy, France, in 1509, and who died in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1564) established his theocratic institution in Geneva where he lived practically his entire adult life. One commentator writes of his difficulties with the opposition which had arisen against his authority, saying that "he was for many years greatly disquieted, and sometimes even endangered, by the opposition offered by the libertine party in Geneva to the ecclesiastical discipline which he had established there. *His system of church polity was essentially theocratic.*" It is said that the city of Geneva profited greatly by his activities, commercially and in civil matters. He founded the university in Geneva which (adds the aforementioned commentator) "added the religious education to the evangelical preaching and the thorough discipline already established, *and so completed the reformer's ideal of a Christian Commonwealth.*"

"Christian Commonwealth," indeed! Here we have it, then: An intolerant, overriding theocracy; religious instruction (Calvinist, of course) as part of the curriculum! The very ideal of the Ultramontane Catholic Church, and of those who, wittingly or unwittingly, support the stealthy encroachments of that political body (masked in religious garb) upon secular authority, and, in this country, upon the hitherto strictly secularized field of education.

The cruelty, the relentless, cold fury of Calvin practised against dissenters became epitomized in the treatment accorded Michael Servetus, who was born in Spain, probably in the year 1511. His was a superior intellect, an intellect which refused to recognize the validity of authoritarianism in matters of spirit and conscience. He became acquainted with Calvin with whom he corresponded frequently, tak-



Louis XIV (The Sun-King)

"My sun the heretics shall frighten,
A beam of mine did stop John Calvin's tricks.
Not to serve God, but just to lighten
My task of playing foxy politics!"

—Dutch caricature by Cornelius Dusart (1691)

ing issue with him after the fashion of the age, disputing and contending at great length. As a reply to Calvin's *Institutio Christiana* he wrote *Restitutio Christianismi*, a fact which caused Calvin to develop a deadly hatred for Servetus, all the more, perhaps, because he undoubtedly recognized the latter's intellectual superiority. Being unable to answer Servetus on the grounds of reason and logic, he set about to destroy him physically, in keeping with the practice of secular and theocratic despots of all ages and of all lands. Georg Brandes, in his brilliant little monograph on Servetus¹ gives the following vivid description of Calvin, now on heresy-hunting bent:

"The inflexible harshness and rigidity in Calvin's character made him a man of action. That was his greatness. His cause was in his own eyes the cause of God. He never doubted for a moment. His conscience was good, he cared for neither riches, luxu-

¹"Theocracy and Toleration," by Douglas Nobbs. (Lecturer in Political Science in the University of Edinburgh, etc.)

²Georg Brandes: "Michel Servet." (Copenhagen, 1911.)

ries nor decorations. But he tolerated no one who was at least his equal and no opinion except his own. Pride, egotism and lust of power possessed and dominated him completely."

Eventually he caused Servetus to be condemned as a heretic. He was sentenced to be taken to a public place there to be burned, together with his books, *a petit feu*, that is, by a slow-burning fire. The utter deviltry, the fiendish wickedness of such a sentence upon any human being—any living creature, indeed—and particularly in the case of a great and noble spirit such as Servetus causes in one a flaming indignation, it outrages one's humanity, and powerfully nurtures one's hatred of theocracy, of ecclesiastic tyranny, causing one to exclaim much as Lincoln is said to have exclaimed in burning hatred of slavery when he witnessed a slave auction in New Orleans: "If ever I get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard!"

However, Servetus escaped, but after four months he injudiciously returned to Geneva. Under laws and rules promulgated by Calvin, and enforced by methods now made familiar through the Nazi system of registration, espionage and denunciation to authorities, Servetus found himself compelled to attend church services. He did so, was recognized and thereupon immediately arrested. Brandes records the horrible details of the examination, the trial and final execution of Servetus. One's blood at times runs cold in rereading (400 years after Servetus's martyrdom) these details. As Brandes tersely observes:

"Renan¹ has justly maintained, again and again, that of all governmental forms in the world, theocracy is the worst. Rule of God is priestly rule."

Here is Brandes's description of the nature of the treatment accorded Servetus in jail, under instructions issued by his theocratic chief jailer, Calvin:

"The [Geneva] prison was worse than the Catholic jail in Vienne [France]. One rotted in the dampness; there was no escape. There was no air; the windows had been nailed fast so that the prisoner might not establish contact with the outer world. Vermin plagued him day and night. He had only one suit of clothes, which was torn and ragged, and again and again he complained: 'The vermin is eating me up!'"

The various counts in the charges against Mi-

chael Servetus were summed up in these accusations:

"He ridicules God and his word. He insults the Christian Church and the great Emperor Constantin [dead these twelve hundred years!]. He does so by arguing that heretics ought not to be killed. He wants to overthrow the order of justice and rob the constituted authority of the sword given it by God." Etc.

Calvin visited Servetus in prison, in the hope of securing an acknowledgment of error from him. He plagued him with stupid, senseless questions, and even the day before the execution was to take place, Calvin came to argue dogmas with him. But it was in vain. Servetus would rather die than to abjure his faith—rather die than to degrade his manhood.

At last the end. Brandes describes it:

"Servetus was tied to the stake with an iron chain; a heavy rope was wound around his neck several times; his 'heretical' writings were fastened to his side, and around his head were placed green leaves dipped in sulphur. He begged the executioner not to let him suffer too long. But it had rained during the morning and the fire-wood was wet. The executioner set fire to his face, and elsewhere on his body. He uttered a scream so terrible that the mob witnessing the execution was terrified."

Death came slowly, in keeping with the terms of the original sentence—burning *a petit feu*—; slowly burning to death for a full half hour. We listen to Brandes:

"He cried anew: 'Jesus, son of the eternal God, bestow mercy upon me!' But Jesus was as hard of hearing as his own father had been when he cried to him from the cross!"

Thus, once again, we witness the spirit and exemplification of theocracy in the suffering and death of one of its noblest victims.

X.

Calvinism, the creed of the rising capitalist class, spread to the northern countries in somewhat modified forms. In Denmark its spirit invaded the official church, manifesting itself in what was called *pietism* which for twenty years weighed like an alp on the intellectual life of the country. It came to England where, according to Buckle, it dominated the Church of England until 1620. Thomas Cartwright, who had absorbed Calvinism during his stay in Geneva, commenced a vigorous propagation of "the faith." Historian Green remarks that fanati-

¹"Ernest Renan, French rationalist writer, celebrated author of 'The Life of Jesus.'"

cally he advocated "a scheme of ecclesiastical government which placed the state beneath the church For the church modelled after the fashion of Geneva he claimed an authority which surpassed the wildest dreams of the Vatican."

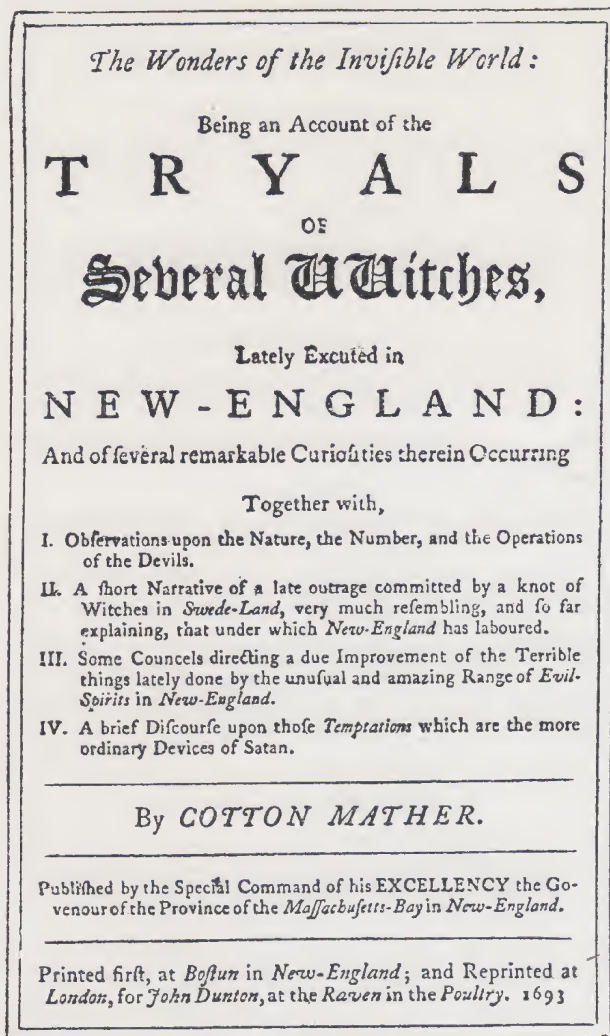
The presbyters claimed supreme authority on the well known principles of theocracy. The function of the secular power, says Green, was to carry out the decrees of the presbyters, "to see their decrees executed and to punish the contemners of them." Green quotes Cartwright as writing about heresy and heretics: "I deny that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost." Nice, sweet, Christian, indeed! At the behest of James I, the church denounced as a fatal error the theory that power derives from the people. It declared false the claims that "all civil power, jurisdiction and authority were first derived from the people and disordered multitude [vide modern equivalent term "mob rule" by capitalist apologists!], or either is originally still in them, or else is deduced by their consent naturally from them; and [that it] is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him and depending upon Him."

The history of Calvinistic Puritanism is well known and need not be recounted here. But a few words need to be said about the branch of puritanism which became established in New England and which, through "trial and error," eventually gave impetus to the movement which nailed to its masthead the crowning political creed of popular sovereignty based on the principle that all power derives from the people, and that government is, or by right ought to be, instituted with the consent of the governed.

The history of the New England theocracy is a long and bloody one, and we shall here deal with only one or two incidents to illustrate further the fact of the oneness of theocracy wherever and whenever it has presented itself. So regularly does this phenomenon recur, so identical in all essential respects does it appear, and so alike are the acts and claims of the respective priesthoods, as to render it reducible to law—the law formulated by De Leon. The New England theocracy follows the traditional patterns. The early settlers of New England were men who had suffered under ecclesiastic tyranny at home. John Fiske, in his "Beginnings of New England," observes: "The Puritan fight against the [English] hierarchy was a political necessity of the time, something without which no real and thorough reformation could then be effected. In her antipathy

to this democratic movement, [Queen] Elizabeth [who stoutly insisted that she was a true Catholic, but who even more vigorously denounced the Pope and all Papists as demons out of hell!] vexed and tormented the Puritans as far as she deemed it prudent, and in the conservative temper of the people she found enough support to prevent their transforming the church as they would have liked to do. Among the Puritans themselves, indeed, there was no definite agreement on this point. Some would have stopped short with Puritanism, while others held that 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large,' and so pressed on to Independency." And so the dissenters arrived in America determined to establish an order which would guarantee them non-interference in respect of *their* concept of religious and spiritual matters. One would think that because of their experience in the old country their first concern would be to insure tolerance and liberalism in religious beliefs and practices. But that conclusion would be quite wrong. "These men," wrote Wm. Cullen Bryant in his "History of the United States," "had come into the wilderness to build up a theocracy, and made no pretensions of securing liberty for anybody but themselves." It was not merely that they resented and had resisted interference from above, i.e., from the English State church, but also that they resented "interference" from below, that is, they resented, and subsequently denounced and ruthlessly attempted to root out, dissensions and deviations from the faith which they felt sure was the only true one! In short, anything which threatened to upset their particular interpretation of "the word of God" was evil and not to be tolerated on any account. They would, in effect, declare: "We grant you full liberty of thought and action, provided you think and act as we do!" A principle which our present plutocratic ruling class has adopted and is practising with respect to the political and civil liberties of those who challenge the present capitalist system.

It has been said, in defense of the New England Puritans, that they were primarily concerned with their religion — to preserve it pure, and that no worldly sacrifice was too great for them in order to achieve this. However this may be, the fact remains that they became substantial men of property, and developed a keen sense of material values; and they were not always over-scrupulous about the means employed to secure the "despised" materialistic objects! But usually they managed to garb in religion their cravings for pelf and power. In one of our plutocratic journals a regular contributor to that paper quotes a letter, written by the celebrated Cotton Mather, the original of which letter is alleged to be



A cruel and pious scoundrel, Cotton Mather recounts in his book, "The Wonders of the Invisible World," the title-page of which we reproduce, the treatment accorded "witches" by the New England theocracy.

on file at the Friends' Meeting House at Greenwich, R.I. It reads:

"To Ye Aged and Beloved:

"Mr. John Higgenson:

"There be now at sea a ship called the Welcome, which has on board an hundred or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them.

"The general court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huscott of the brig Propasso, to waylay the said Welcome slyly as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified, and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people."

BUT—

"Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for his ministers and people.

"Master Huscott feels hopeful, and I will set down the news when the ship comes in.

"Yours in ye bowels of Christ,
"Cotton Mather."

This pious scoundrel, Cotton Mather, who was born at Boston in 1663 (where he died in 1728), was the author of a curious work entitled "The Wonders of the Invisible World," with the subtitle, "Being An Account of the Tryals of Several Witches Lately Executed in New England." This cheering tract relates the circumstances attending the manner in which the New England theocrats carried out the Mosaic injunction, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."¹ Announcing his solemn and sacred purpose to be "to countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, against *New-England*," to do the which, he said, an author "had need be fenced with Iron and the Staff of a Spear," he reveals his exact knowledge of what his god had required of him:

"Having performed something of what God required, *in laboring* to suit his Words unto his Works, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been sometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, not even of a King, it will easily be perceived, that some subordinate Ends have been considered in these Endeavors."

Closing his recitals of the horrible murders of those charged with witchcraft, the pious pyromaniacal butcher chants:

"But so much of these things; And, now, *Lord*, make these Labours of thy servant, Profitable to thy People."

The record does not reveal whether Mather made them profitable by exchanging copies of his book for more Barbadoes rum, but the record does reveal that—

"Nineteen Witches have been Executed at *New-England*, one of them was a Minister [!] and two Ministers more are Accus'd. There is a hundred Witches more in Prison, which broke Prison, and about two Hundred more are Accus'd, some Men of great Estates in *Boston*, have been accus'd for *Witchcraft*."

*

The monstrous and fiendish slaughter of innocent people as "witches" conveys an idea of the supersti-

¹Exodus, XXII, 18.

tion and the spirit which possessed the New England theocracy—a superstition and spirit, however, which flow logically, however grotesquely, from the theocratic principle of God or religion in government. Accept the latter, and anything, from witch-burning and the burning of heretics at the stake, to the suppression of all rights and liberties cherished by enlightened men, are bound to follow. The New England theocracy was perhaps as cruel and vindictive as any that ever cursed the fair earth. The power and authority of this theocratic hierarchy radiated from Boston, where, as Bryant said, “there was a sense of a personal Divine presence” which he summed up by saying: “God himself was always and personally in Boston.”!

The Code of Laws of the New England Puritans was taken almost literally from the Old Testament.¹ Indeed, when an attempt was made to draw also “upon the old Roman and Grecian governments,” it was denounced as an error by the sturdy Governor, John Winthrop, who insisted that laws should be taken from the Bible, rather than “on the authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths.” Nathaniel Ward, a minister who lived in Ipswich, Mass., was the author of a work entitled the “Body of Liberties,” in which, in the final analysis, the word of God was to serve as the basis of judgment rendered. The theocracy would, of course, decide as to what was a just and wise judgment! The same Rev. Ward wrote in obvious indignation:

“It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them of it; I can rather stand amazed than reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignor-

ance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and find an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will Petition to be chosen the universal Idiot of the world. [Perhaps ye olde theocrat had something there!]”

To this typical outburst of theocratic intolerance, Bryant supplies the following comment:

“Not a Puritan in Massachusetts that Massachusetts could tolerate, but would agree with this. *For so surely as it was divine wisdom that led the Puritan out of the Church of England, so it was not liberty of conscience but license of the devil that would lead one inch beyond the Church of Boston.*”!



A Wanton Gospeller.

Despite, or rather because of, the intolerance of the Massachusetts theocracy, dissenters arose, many of whom were severely punished, some killed as heretics, while others were sent into exile or as fugitives. Outstanding among those who were banished was Roger Williams, the founder of the colony of Rhode Island. The name of Williams is ever to be revered as one who fought theocracy relentlessly, who set conscience above every written or unwritten law. Bryant beautifully describes the flight of Roger Williams from the Massachusetts vindictive theocracy into the, by comparison, friendly wilderness. “Roger Williams,” wrote Bryant, “fled out into the night and the winter’s storms, with the order of the General Court behind him, the officers of the law in hot pursuit, and a ship waiting in the offing to bear him into perpetual banishment across the sea. The shelter which Puritan intolerance denied him *he sought and found among savage friends* [the Indians]. As he, the next spring, with only five companions, paddled his canoe along the shore of Providence Bay, their

¹John Cotton was one of the leading influences in the Boston Church in the years of 1542-1643 when one of the most celebrated heresy trials was conducted, that in which one Samuel Gorton figured as one of the principal “heretics.” Though found guilty, and although the death sentence was urged, it was finally decided that Gorton and his followers were to be banished to separate localities, to be kept at hard labor, with irons around one leg, and they were ordered “not, by word or writing [to] maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death.” John Cotton was one of the chief inquisitors, but there is reason to believe that he met his match in the amazing Gorton whose argumentative and garrulous proclivities had been the despair of so many faithful believers. At any rate, it was this worthy (Cotton) who gave expression to the Massachusetts theocratic *credo* in words which, theocratically, must be regarded as a classic. In a letter to Governor Hutchinson he wrote:

“When a commonwealth hath liberty to mould its own frame (*Scripturae plenitudinem adoro*), I conceive the Scripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the same. It is better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God’s house, which is His Church, than to accommodate the Church’s frame to the civil State.”

(Compare utterance of 13th Century Jakob Erlandson, previously quoted, with 17th Century New England John Cotton’s utterance. Four hundred years separated them, but the spirit and the language are the same. “De te fabula narratur!” [Change the name and “the story is told of you!”])

thoughts were less of hierarchies and of commonwealths, than where the sunniest slope could be found for a field of maize, the most sheltered and convenient nook for huts."

The place where he landed he called Providence because "of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress." And nobly he expressed the hope that also it "might be for a shelter for those distressed in conscience."

Providence, R.I., is today one of the strongholds of Roman Catholic Ultramontaniam, the deadliest foe of liberty, the would-be heir-apparent to theocracy in America.

XI.

Despite the efforts of the Massachusetts theocracy, the democratic spirit and principle could not be killed. In 1636 a Newtown, Massachusetts, minister, Thomas Hooker, initiated and effected an emigration of some one hundred Newtown residents, and pushing toward the Connecticut colony landed in Hartford where they established themselves. Connecticut is known for its early democratic traditions.¹ Thomas Hooker formulated what appears to be one of the earliest expressions in America of democratic principle, the principle that power and authority derive from the people. He said:

"They who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them. *And this, in the first place, because the principle of authority resides in the free consent of the people.*"²

Yet, within a few years the theocratic menace presented itself in Connecticut. The colonists of New Haven, having left Boston to escape the restrictions of the Boston Church, drew up a covenant in which they declared that "The choice of magistrates, legislation, the rights of inheritance, and all matters of that kind, were to be decided according to the rules of Holy Scriptures."³ Professor Charles Borgeaud observed that "measures were taken for the organization of a singular form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, drawn from the text of the Old Testament." In 1639 the New Haven assembly agreed that the Church should supply, or name, the magistrates, whereat one got up and, while agreeing to the proposal, insisted on retaining control of the

civil affairs. To quote from the summary of the report on this adoption of the resolutions:

"They that chuse them [the magistrates] ought to be men fearing God: only at this he struck, That free planters ought not to give their power out of their hands. Another stood up and answered that in this case nothing was done but with their consent."

As if despotism by consent is any the less a despotism!

Although Lincoln had considerable doubt as to the possibility of "ascertaining and applying" the will of God, as he facetiously put it, the New England theocrats had none whatever. For instance, it was apparently not considered difficult to ascertain God's will with respect to determining the proper remuneration for the magistrates, as the following seemingly naive resolution of May 20, 1644, indicates:

"It is ordered that it shall and may be lawful for the Deputies of the Court to advise with their elders and freemen, and take into serious consideration, whether God do not expect that all the inhabitants of this plantation allowe to their magistrates, and all others that are called to country service, a proportionable allowance, answerable to their places and instruments."

The fact that a money consideration was involved may help to explain the ease with which "God's will" was ascertained! One wonders, however, whether what the magistrates and the elders heard was *vox dei*, or *vox pecuniae*—the voice of God, or the voice of money!

As we have seen, the theocracy of New England, and particularly of Massachusetts, was every bit as monstrous in its ruthless persecution of dissenters as all preceding theocracies. And once again let it be noted that the cruel barbarities, the incredible superstitions, cannot simply be blamed on the spirit and customs of the times. At least twenty-five hundred years had passed from the time of the Jewish theocracy at its height to the founding of the Massachusetts theocracy, yet there was no essential difference in the spirit and practices of the respective theocrats. If the ancient Hebrews had spoken the King's English, their preachments and judgments would have sounded quite familiar to the Biblical literalists of New England, and vice versa! There are differences, but they were to be found in the economic and social potentialities of the New England theocracy, rather than in their religious and moral preachments, or in their legal adaptations of the scriptures. And the reason is that, once given theocracy, the rest is bound to work itself out accordingly, that is, in ac-

¹Vide Mark Twain's "A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur."

²Quoted by Prof. Charles Borgeaud in his splendid work, "The Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England."

³Quoted by Borgeaud.

cordance with the now familiar pattern. Which is not to say that despite present tendencies theocracy will find it possible to establish itself.

Notwithstanding the tyranny and oppression of theocracy, the democratic undercurrent was very strong. After all, one of the chief tenets of Calvinism had been to emphasize the sacredness and inviolability of the individual's soul, his right (in theory, at least) to settle his accounts with his god without intercessors or mediators. This consciousness, however clouded as a result of the recurring events denying in practice that which was conceded in theory, bred a strong individualistic spirit, which was also continually nurtured by the opportunities for adventure in a new world — a spirit that could not be crushed, nor suppressed for long. Moreover, the organizational form of Calvinism resulted in strengthening local church bodies, and their respective local church governments, at the expense of the tendency toward universal, centralized church-government as exemplified in the Roman Catholic Church. John Fiske, speaking of the effect of the Calvinistic doctrine upon the individual and upon his society, says: "Calvin made them feel, as it had perhaps never been felt before, the dignity and importance of the individual human soul. . . . In a church, moreover, based upon such a theology there is no room for prelacy. Each single church tended to become an independent congregation of worshippers, *constituting one of the most effective schools that has ever existed for training men in local self-government.*"¹

Granting the point of John Fiske, it still remains true that a heavy price was paid for this training and experience. And again we may be permitted to question whether the relative gain was worth the terrible cost. As Professor Borgeaud says:

"Thus was founded the theocratic Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with none like it to be found in history, except the Republic of Calvin; like it, brave, austere, **BUT INTOLERANT OF INQUIRY, PERSECUTING HERESY WITHOUT PITY, AND WITHOUT MERCY.**"²

*

The theocratic spirit flared up again in our Civil War, though predominantly in the South. Elsewhere the writer has recorded the ravings of one of slavery's most vociferous theocratic defenders,³ Dr. Ross of Huntsville, Ala. His insistence that slavery was "ordained of God"; that since God provided for slaves in the Bible it would be blasphemous to abol-

ish slavery in the United States; his almost hysterical contentions that the WORD ("God's word") must be obeyed literally—all these are the characteristic utterances of theocracy wherever and whenever made. The proof of the pudding, so to speak, is to



Witch Trial in Salem

be found in the mess of pottage with which Jacob swindled his brother Esau. If that is a bit mixed, it is no more so than Dr. Ross's rantings! Listen to him:

"That WORD [i.e., the Bible] moreover He proves by highest evidence—namely, supernatural evidence—to be *absolute, perfect TRUTH* as to all *FACT affirmed of him and what he does*. REVELATION, as claimed in the Bible, was and is **THAT THING**. Man, then, having this revelation, is under obligation ever to believe every jot and tittle of that WORD."¹ (Emphases as in the original.)

Surely, this is the Q.E.D. of theocracy, even if it does constitute a *reductio ad absurdum*!

XII.

Among those who do not closely follow the trend of the times, and who, in the glittering generalities and pious phrases of budding theocrats of today, fail to recognize the signs and threats of nascent theocracy, there will be some who will say: "All this is very interesting, but why all this pother? All these things happened a long time ago—the world is too wise, too educated, too civilized to stand for a return of theocracy." The answer to such sceptics is: Look at the record! The theocratic spirit is abroad in these latter days as it has not been for centuries. And those who think the Marxian De Leonist is "seeing things," that he is unduly alarmed, had best look to Europe. For more than a generation the De Leonist has warned that if Socialism were not instituted

¹ John Fiske: "Beginnings of New England."

² Borgeaud: "Rise of Modern Democracy, etc."

³ See "Superstition, Father of Slavery."

¹ "Slavery Ordained of God," by Rev. Fred. A. Ross, D.D., published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1857.

among civilized men, INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM (Fascism) would present itself as the inescapable alternative. Until about ten years ago practically everybody laughed at De Leonists when they uttered this warning. Today the specter of Industrial Feudalism haunts this land of ours, and at present the greater part of Europe lies under the Iron Heel of this bloody despotism. Those who may feel disposed to laugh at us now, those who may scoff at our warnings against the possibility of a return of theocracy, should reflect on the fact of secular despotism today, however unlikely its return seemed a few years ago. It is not half so fantastic to suppose the possibility of the latter, as it not so long ago may have seemed to be to suppose the recurrence of the former.

The American social scientist, Daniel De Leon, was the first in modern times to utter a warning against the reappearance of theocracy. De Leon called it Ultramontanism, but the meaning is the same—certainly in its modern setting. In a brilliant essay (Chapter XIII, "Abolition of Poverty," written in 1911) he points out that "the social system aimed at by the founders of the Roman Catholic polity was the paternal system, with the masses of the population held in the status of wards to a select few." De Leon continues: "The title 'father,' given by the Roman Catholic polity to its officers, and reappearing in the title 'Pope' [from "papa," father] accurately reflects the paternal spirit of that governmental system."

Concluding, De Leon points out that the "Roman Catholic political system" has fatedly become an institution constituting "the scourge of man while today, crippled though it is by advanced enlightenment [alas! now in retreat, temporarily at least.—A.P.], continues a hindrance, if not a menace to progress."

While it is true that every organized creed which remains consistent, and which claims for its god super-sovereignty in mundane affairs, may have an equal chance with every other such creed to become *the* theocratic body, the fact is that the Ultramontane machine, or the Roman Catholic Church, is the only one which (given the required, but not necessarily inescapable conditions) can function universally, and which, moreover, possesses that oneness in aim, methods and spirit—that perfection in organization—which makes possible cohesion in operation and swiftness in action. And the church is not asleep. It is wide-awake and responsive to every opportunity offered to strengthen its position. It is head over heels in politics, acting sometimes cautiously, at other times boldly, as for instance when a few years ago it openly lobbied at Albany to prevent the ratification,

by the state of New York, of the Child Labor Amendment. And it succeeded. Ever resentful of interference by political government, it rarely fails to insist on receiving that protection from political government which will enable it to improve its



Roger Williams

chances to undermine and destroy, or capture for its own purposes, that government. It attacks Socialism savagely, lies about it, and threatens death and destruction to individual Socialists (as, for instance, when the Brooklyn priest, John L. Belford, in his parish paper said that "the Socialist is the mad dog of society, who should be silenced if need be with a bullet")¹; yet, when Socialists strike back, the budding Catholic theocrats and their blind followers whimper and whine that they are the victims of bigotry! When some time ago Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt ventured to remark that divorce is a recognized factor in American life, and that a moving picture entitled "The Birth of a Baby" was not obscene because it was honest, the president of the League of Catholic Women, one Mrs. Charles Feehan, brazenly assailed the President's wife for stating a fact and an honest

¹This murder-inciting priest, while speaking in Toronto about ten years ago, was challenged about his earlier suggestion that Socialists should be shot like mad dogs. The priest squirmed and dodged, trying desperately to establish a distinction between "the right kind of Socialists" (Ramsay MacDonald, for instance) and "the wrong kind." "The wrong kind of Socialists" the priest exemplified in the person of Francisco Ferrer who at one and the same time was accused of being a "Socialist" and an Anarchist. The fact that Ferrer was neither disturbed the lying priest not at all. The priest also lied when he charged Ferrer with advocating violence. The fact is that Ferrer denounced anarchy and violence in specific terms. He said: "Time only conserves that which has been slowly built up in time. What may be gained by a violent deed today, is lost through another violent deed tomorrow."

According to the *Toronto Globe* of February 5, 1930, the priest Belford, on this occasion, improved on his earlier incitement to violence against his fellow citizens. Referring to what he called "the wrong kind of Socialists," he said: "Those are the mad dogs of society and ought to be put out, *not necessarily by wasting bullets, but by a rope that can be used over and over again.*"

This is the very flower of theocracy—it is the theocratic spirit translated into action, in all its medieval horror and brutality. (See also "Medievalism Rampant," by Arnold Petersen, *Weekly People*, March 1, 1930.)

opinion. Her remarks are so thoroughly typical of the attitude and language of those who operate the Ultramontane propaganda machine, that they are quoted here as printed in the New York *Herald Tribune* of April 27, 1939:

"I believe that it is most unfortunate, unfair and dangerous for the wife of the President of the United States to make apodictical [i.e., "clearly demonstrable," "indisputable"] pronouncements that give offense to a large part of our citizens."

Why Mrs. Roosevelt should under any condition be forbidden to make "indisputable" pronouncements on any subject is not clear. (Perhaps the presumptuous Catholic lady swallowed the wrong word!) But in any case, the ravings of this Catholic female are thoroughly imbued with the theocratic spirit, and reflect the attitude of the Church politicians toward those who dare to disagree with them on matters that involve no religious principle, but concern entirely the functions and prerogatives of civil society.

Another indication of the slow and stealthy march toward theocracy is the increasing demand for religious education in the public schools. Such a practice would completely subvert the intentions of the founders of the republic who made special constitutional provision inhibiting Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion." But what Congress *must* not do, state legislatures apparently *may* do, for this vicious practice has, as stated, been enacted into law in New York state! Despite vigorous protests from many quarters, Church and State, in *happy unity on that point*, have started the splitting up of our children in so many creed-conscious groups, each creed vying with the other in harassing these children with questions which belong (if they belong anywhere) in the church or in the home.

XIII.

When Pope Pius XI died about two years ago the event was treated as if a universal monarch, to whom all owed fealty, had died. Condolences—or so they were called—poured into the Vatican from governments of almost every land, and practically all creeds. Many public institutions, and many public men—writers, politicians and non-Catholic clerics—united in singing the praises of the late Pope. One heading in the New York *Times* of February 12, 1939, read: "All Faiths Unite in Praising Pope." The fawning sycophants included the Rev. John Haynes Holmes who, the headline said, "Likens Pope's Career to Lincoln's Life," a remark which

should have earned for its author a first prize in dodoism! A cartoonist portrayed the late Pope as "Pope Pius, A Friend of Peace." "A Friend of Peace," indeed! It was this Pope who (according to the respectable, conservative and church-toadying New York *Sun*) told 1,200 Catholic nurses that Benito Benito's murderous war against the Ethiopians was not a war of conquest; if it were a war of conquest, said the Pope, it would be an unjust war, and could not be sanctioned by the Pope. The *Sun* quoted the late Pope as having said:¹

"In Italy there is no question of a just war, because a war of defense to assure frontiers [thousands of miles away!] against continual and insistent danger [!], *a war made necessary by a population which increases day by day* [an increase constantly urged by the Pope as a religious duty, and by Benito Mussolini as a civic duty!], *a war undertaken to defend or assure moral security of a country—such a war is justifiable.*"!!

"Friend of Peace," indeed!

Even the ridiculous Communists (then allies of the Ultramontanes) hastened to extend condolences on the death of the Pope. At its second annual convention held February 12, 1939, the New York State Young Communist League adopted a resolution of sympathy, extending their "hand of brotherly cooperation to the Catholic Youth, etc."²

And when the new Pope was elected, messages again poured into the Vatican, this time congratulations. Jews vied with Protestants in hailing with joy the election of Pius XII! Incredible, but true. Yet only seven months later the new Pope, in an encyclical addressed to the United States hierarchy, presumptuously and arrogantly attacked the schools of the United States! The New York *Times* headline of November 12, 1939, read: "Pius XII Criticizes Schools of U.S." In that same encyclical the Pope assures his representatives in America that "God... has ordained that for the exercise of virtues and for the testing of one's worth there be in the world rich and poor." It was slavocracy's high priest, Dr. Ross, who assured his contemporaries that slavery was ordained of God! The sinister voice of theocracy spoke in both cases, and both to essentially the same purpose. For the Pope in reality uttered the anti-social, the jungle creed pronouncement that wage slavery is ordained of God!

But are there more definite indications than all

¹New York *Sun*, August 31, 1935.

²New York *Times*, February 13, 1939.

these that the church is straining with all its might toward theocracy? There are. In his "Easter Homily," preached in St. Peter's Church on April 9, 1939, the newly elected Pope said menacingly:

"Justice requires that the salutary action of the church of Christ, *infallible teacher of truth*, inexhaustible fount of life for the soul, *the benefactor of civil society* [!], **BE NOT OPPOSED AND HINDERED.**"¹

No one can mistake the meaning of that bold and arrogantly presumptuous utterance.

The New York *Herald Tribune* of February 3, 1941, carried a despatch from its Vichy (France) correspondent in which mention was made of the Pope's plans for calling an Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church immediately after the war. Among the main problems to be submitted to the Council, according to the *Herald Tribune* writer, are "education of youth, restoration of the family [?] **AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER.**" We know now what "Christian social order," and "Christian civilization," and "Christian democracy," etc., mean in the mouths of plutocratic rulers and Ultramontane politicians: They mean **T H E O C R A C Y !**

The American people, and particularly the American working class, would do well to take full cognizance of the sinister shadow of Ultramontanism which looms up ever more clearly from the back of the social stage. For Ultramontanism (nascent theocracy) is indeed the chief defender of reaction, the source of its inspiration, and its guide to action. It may only seem a shadow now, but let us not forget that behind such a shadow there is a formidable substance. As we have seen, it is reaching its long hands into all avenues of social and political life. It is adaptable. It is cruel, bloody and monstrous in Spain, conciliating in Italy, lying low in the Nazi realm, and suave, insinuating, crafty and designing, and active as hell's angels, in the United States! When the time, to it, seems ripe and propitious, it will not hesitate to show its hand. In keeping with

its policy of deception and its practice of stealthy encroachments upon secular and civic matters, it will conceal its purpose as long as it can, and will even deny its own basic claims to supreme authority in society when it serves its current purpose to do so.

We know from history what the aims and claims of the papacy are. The record is clear and indisputable. We know that these aims and claims are the same today. Does the papacy—the Church—claim superiority over the State; does it contend that the State must be subordinate to the Church? It does. But does it do so in America? The proof is overwhelming, conclusive, that it does so. In a book entitled "Manual of Christian Doctrine," published as a "Course of Religious Instruction," by the "Brothers of the Christian Schools," and bearing the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia and the *Nihil Obstat* of N. F. Fisher, S.T.L. (*Censor Librorum*) and Arthur J. Scanlan, S.T.D. (*Censor Deputatus*)—in this catechism which has gone through fifty-eight editions, we find a series of questions and answers that are most illuminating. Just a few can be cited here. To the question: "Why is the church



Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson.

Mrs. Ann Hutchinson lectured on theology and came in conflict with the synod which ordered her to cease. Her refusal resulted in prosecution. She was banished from the Massachusetts Colony for her heresies. She moved to Connecticut and later to New York. Some years later, she was killed by Indians.

¹In 1891 Daniel De Leon wrote: "Recognizing the irresistible tendency of the workmen to combine for mutual protection, he [Pope Leo XIII] does not attempt to dissuade them from adopting this course; on the contrary, he praises their efforts in this direction, but advises them to place their organizations under the guidance of the church. For aught we know, the Pope may be dreaming of a new Roman Catholic Empire, in which the trades would be organized—as they were by Constantine and his successors, but with due regard for the changed conditions of production—under the direction of the Supreme Pontiff. Such was, indeed, the proposition made in 1848 by a highly religious economist; and not only the Vatican received it with favor, but the priests blessed the 'trees of liberty' planted in Paris by the 'Social Republic'! The Pope evidently believes that if the institution of private property should come to grief in spite of the efforts of the church to save it, all property should be vested in the church itself."

superior to the state?" the answer is given: "Because the end to which the Church tends is the noblest of all ends." That settles that, like it or not! To the question: "What right has the Pope in virtue of his supremacy?" this answer is given: "The right to annul those laws or acts of government that would injure the salvation of souls or *attack the natural rights of citizens*." (Among the "natural rights of citizens" the catechism later lists private property rights!)

In all cases of disputes the Church, of course, decides the issue, on the basis of the WORD, as interpreted by the infallible Pope!

Defining "Liberalism," the manual says: "It [Liberalism] is founded principally on the fact that modern society rests on liberty of conscience and of worship, on liberty of speech and of the press." And to the question: "Why is Liberalism to be condemned?" we are given these illuminating replies: "1. Because it denies all subordination of the State to the Church; 2. Because it confounds liberty with right; 3. Because it despises the *social dominion* of Christ [theocracy] and rejects the benefits derived therefrom."

These, then, are authoritative statements by an important branch of the Church, and must necessarily represent the general views and policies of the Church. The record is clear and establishes that the Church acclaims and condemns the following things:

1. The Church is superior to the State.
2. The Pope has the right, in his wisdom or judgment, or the lack of these, to annul laws which citizens are required to obey.
3. Liberalism is condemned, hence that which "Liberalism" represents. Therefore—
4. Liberty of conscience and worship are condemned.
5. Liberty of speech and of the press, likewise, are condemned.
6. The subordination of the State to the Church is reaffirmed.
7. "Liberty" and "right" apparently are incompatible.
8. Christ has a "social dominion," the meaning of which is not clear, unless it is an affirmation of the necessity or desirability of a theocratic form of government.

There is no escape from these conclusions. The apologists of would-be Roman Catholic theocracy may marshal all their Jesuitical craftiness and casuistry. What has been cited in the foregoing constitutes the position of the Catholic Church in America today; it is thoroughly in line with the traditional pol-

icy of the Church; and these doctrines, so definitely subversive of American democratic principles, are being taught openly to millions of future American citizens who some day will be called upon to decide the vital question as to whether the United States shall maintain and expand the democratic rights and liberties, or whether these shall be surrendered and the road cleared for the establishment of a feudo-theocratic industrial rule! We dare the hierarchy to deny that these are wholly proper and logical conclusions drawn from the facts and premises supplied by the Church itself.

XIV.

While in the main the presumptuous claims and theocratic pretensions of the papacy are being passed over in silence by a press which is either intimidated or bribed into silence, or which (in its social-reactionary character) finds itself in accord with these theocratic pretensions, occasionally references to these creep into the more important among the daily (capitalist) papers. In the *New York Times* of May 26, 1940, one Gilbert O. Nations, who appeared to write with authority and considerable understanding of the theocratic ambitions of the papacy, took sharp issue with one of the outstanding American Catholics, James H. Ryan, Bishop of Omaha, who is reported to be an authority on international questions with particular reference to the relation of the papacy to these questions. Bishop Ryan had urged that the United States should set up and maintain diplomatic relations with the See of Rome, rumors being rife at the time that President Roosevelt had sent as his personal representative feudo-industrial baron, Myron C. Taylor, to Rome to discuss the matter. Pointing out the subversive character of such a move, Mr. Nations said:

"It is the international sovereignty of the Pope that gives him vast political and diplomatic power. The sovereignty of other governments stops at their territorial boundaries. But that of the Pope does not stop. It encircles the earth.

"The papacy often makes treaties or concordats with the civil powers as an incident of diplomatic relations. Such pacts make clear the purpose of diplomatic relations. They also make clear the general policies of the Popes in their relations with civil governments. They define the status and rights of papal subjects in the respective countries as against their own government wherein they enjoy citizenship and the ballot. Good examples are the 1929 treaty with Italy, the treaties with Spain, Colombia and other Latin countries.

"They stipulate that the Roman Catholic religion shall be the religion of the State, that it shall be taught in all public schools to the exclusion of all other faiths, that the local hierarchy shall be empowered to pass on the books and teachers used in such schools and that civil authority will enforce payment of tithes assessed by the hierarchy."

"Such provisions and such policies do violence to the whole background and fundamentals of American constitutional law. For about seventy years the Popes have expressly condemned American public schools and prohibited Roman Catholic children from attending them without special permission from the local Bishop. That prohibition now appears in canon 1374 of the Code of Canon Law enacted by the papacy years ago. It was amplified in December, 1929, by Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri*:

"America has little interest in the thousand or so people and slightly over a hundred acres which compose Vatican City. No such interest would justify diplomatic relations with the Pope. But the 20,000,000 of Roman Catholics in the United States are of vast importance. It is to exercise greater influence over them under his paramount international sovereignty that the Pope urges diplomatic relations. No foreign sovereign has just right to attempt to exert influence over our citizens against their own government. Their rights and status should be settled in this country and under American law." (Italics mine.)

No more need be said to prove the point: The polity of the papacy runs directly counter to the American civil polity and constitutes a definite plan for restoring the subserviency of the secular authority to the authority of the Church.

*

Catholic orators, lay and clerical, fill the air with their exhortations for a "return to Christ," for "God in government," etc. One of the most eloquent, if also one of the most blatant, is the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen who speaks every Sunday over a nation-wide hookup. We are told that "Radio facilities are provided GRATUITOUSLY by N.B.C. and the stations associated with it." On February 23, 1941, Msgr. Sheen spoke on "Papacy and International Order." The address was one of the most significant in recent times. It constitutes as bold a bid for control of secular government as any that has been made in recent times by an organized creed. The argument is that after the war there is only one body capable, and qualified, to run the world, viz., the Roman Catholic political machine. The plea is put

SLAVERY ORDAINED OF GOD.

"The powers that be are ordained of God."
ROMANS xiii. 1.

BY

REV. FRED. A. ROSS, D.D.

PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1857.

Title-page from the Rev. Fred A. Ross's book condoning slavery as ordained of God.

more subtly than that, but that is the plain meaning of it. Contemptuously this would-be theocrat sneers at "universal education, progress, science, liberalism"—and for good measure, but no doubt with tongue in cheek, he includes "Totalitarianism"! He declares that there is "only one moral authority left in the world, *the Chief Shepherd and Vicar of Jesus Christ*," i.e., the keen and crafty politician placed on the theocratic throne in Rome! In cheap banality and mock humility he speaks of the papacy as "the smallest of all sovereignties—108 acres on which its Shepherd may feed and pasture his three hundred and eighty million sheep"! ("Sheep" is what he said!¹ And sheep are expected to do naught else than

¹It is no accident that the word "ovation" is used when great or popular leaders (English for "Fuehrer") are noisily acclaimed, usually by an unthinking multitude. As Plutarch observed: "Ovation is derived from the Latin word 'ovis,' meaning 'sheep'!"

to bleat, and to submit to fleeing!) And at the conclusion of his address he uttered these significant words:

"I can see no hope unless we reverse the present order and admit *that instead of politics setting limits to religion and the morality of Jesus Christ, religion and the morality of Jesus Christ must begin to set limits to politics.*"

There we have it: The Church must rule the civil power. Secular government must be made subordinate to the Church! The voice that spoke was the voice of the high priest of the ancient Jewish theocracy; it was the voice of Caiaphas, the voice of imperialist Innocent III, the voice of ruthless Calvin, and of every actual and aspiring theocratic ruler since organized society began! It was the voice of medievalism, the voice of the rack and the stake, the voice of bigotry and intolerance, the voice of darkness, ignorance and of human slavery! It was a voice demanding the stultification of the human spirit, a voice out of the dark tomb of time. It was the voice of hopeless despair for humanity, a voice asserting the sovereignty of unreason over reason.

How shall we answer that voice—and by "we" is meant primarily the working class and all those who take their stand on working class interests? We shall answer, in notes of ringing accents:

We will have none of your mind-destroying theocracy! We reject your plea for sovereignty over men born to be free! We hurl back at you your insult that we are so many sheep! We declare to you,

to your superior officer in Rome, and to your lay and clerical allies of all creeds everywhere *that we mean to be free men and women, to be true Children of Light!* We declare to you that we shall lay the ghost of class rule, theocratic or strictly secular, so that never again shall it walk the bloody highways of oppression and slavery! And to that end we, the workers of America, with our brothers, the workers of the world, will organize—organize more compactly, more scientifically, with greater purposefulness than was ever dreamt of in any of your theocratic handbooks! We accept the gage of battle, and gird our loins! Do you organize in your theocratic conclaves—we shall organize in our Socialist Industrial Unions for the control and operation of a civilized society which shall know neither poverty nor superstition, neither wars nor any other kind of social strife! We shall organize for Peace and Happiness, for Light and Freedom!

The issue is:

THEOCRACY or DEMOCRACY?

We take our stand on Democracy—Industrial and Economic Democracy. And in thus taking our stand we join the noble host which in the long and dreary past has held aloft the banner of freedom—the many martyrs broken or murdered by *your* forerunners. We take our stand on the principle laid down by the noble Abraham Lincoln, a principle which shall eventually free the world:

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."



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